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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JULY-OCTOBER, 1926.

THE MYTH OF ER (PLATO, *REPUBLIC*, 616B).

PLATO *Rep.* X. 616B. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι ἐκάστοις ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι γένοιτο, ἀναστάντας ἐντεῦθεν δεῖν τῇ ὁγδόῃ πορεύεσθαι, καὶ ἀφικνεῖσθαι τεταρταίους ὅθεν καθορᾶν ἄνωθεν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένον φῶς εὐθύ, οἶον κίονα, μάλιστα τῇ ἱριδι προσφερῇ,¹ λαμπρότερον δὲ καὶ καθαρώτερον· εἰς δ' ἀφικέσθαι προελθόντες ἡμερησίαν ὁδόν, καὶ ἰδεῖν αὐτόθι κατὰ μέσον τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ τῶν δεσμῶν τεταμένα—εἶναι γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ φῶς σύνδεσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οἶον τὰ ὑποζώματα τῶν τριήρων, οὕτω πᾶσαν συνέχον τὴν περιφοράν—ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄκρων τεταμένον Ἀνάγκης ἄτρακτον, etc.

The passage occurs in a myth of the fate of the soul after death, which Plato in this dialogue puts into the mouth of Er, the son of Armenios, a Pamphylian. Er has already described the return of the souls to the judgement-place (ὁ λειμῶν)² from the place of reward in Heaven or the place of punishment in Hell and their resting together while they recounted their experiences to each other. He here proceeds to tell how on the eighth day they all set out again from the judgement-place with him in their company and how he shared with them, in the place to which they came, that vision of the workings of the universe which it was given to them to behold before their rebirth in mortal bodies. It is with the light which formed a part of the vision that the present article proposes to deal.

'They arrived on the fourth day,' Plato says, 'at a place³ from which they

¹ Adam, *Republic of Plato* (1902), adopts προσφερῆς, the reading of the second hand in A.

² Τὸν λειμῶνα 614E and τῷ λειμῶνι 616B both refer to the same place as is described at 614C as τόπον τινὰ δαιμόνιον and the place of judgement.

³ The position of the souls in the universe when they see the light first, and their position again when at the end of a day's journey they are κατὰ μέσον τὸ φῶς, are vexed questions. Adam locating them on the true surface of the earth when they first see the light (note on 616B 11), then plunges them into subterranean regions at the very centre of the earth when they are said to be κατὰ μέσον τὸ φῶς. His

reasons for doing so are given in notes on 616B 13, 621B 10, and App. VI. to Bk. X. But it is to be noted that the words κατὰ μέσον τὸ φῶς need not be pressed so as to make the souls come to the centre of the earth when they come to the centre of the light. 'The middle of the light' may mean the point at which the shaft of light pierces the surface of the earth, the centre of the universe (Stewart, *Myths of Plato*, pp. 152 and 167); or Plato's words may, I think, be interpreted to mean simply that the souls enter the light and so are in the midst of it (cf. the interpretation of Sir T. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 152). Neither need the fact that the souls shoot

saw stretching from above¹ through all the heaven and the earth a straight light, like a pillar, which resembled the rainbow more than anything else, but was brighter and purer. After having gone forward a day's journey they reached it, and there in the middle of the light saw stretching from heaven the extremities of its bands²—for this light is a band of heaven, holding all the revolving heaven together, like the undergirders of triremes—and they saw stretching from these extremities a spindle of Necessity,' etc.

In interpreting the passage I accept definitely, for the following reasons, the conclusion of Adam that the light has two parts, a straight and a circular.

1. The words *φῶς εὐθύ, οἶον κίονα*, seem conclusive for the straight part³ (the comparison with the rainbow has relation not to shape but to brightness and colour). Again Adam is undoubtedly right in his interpretation of *διὰ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένον*.⁴ There is no mention of the earth as a planet in the description of the planetary motions which follows our passage, and it is thus clear that there is no reason for supposing that Plato abandoned here the conception found in the *Phaedo* and *Timaeus* of a geocentric universe. The natural interpretation then of the words 'stretching through all the heaven and earth' is that the light runs diametrically through the spherical heaven and pierces its centre, the earth. This natural interpretation is supported by comparison of Plato's words here with the passage in *Timaeus* 40B *γῆν δὲ τροφὸν μὲν ἡμετέραν, ἰλλομένην δὲ περὶ τὸν διὰ παντὸς πόλον τεταμένον*, where *διὰ παντὸς . . . τεταμένον* expresses the manner in which the axis runs diametrically through the celestial sphere.⁵ The similarity of wording in the two passages is noticeable, and it seems in the highest degree probable that in the passage in the *Republic* Plato meant the straight light to represent the axis of the celestial sphere.⁶ Among the ancient commentators

upwards to birth (621B) imply that they saw the vision of Ananke's spindle from a subterranean region. *ἀνω* is explicable if it is assumed with Professor Stewart (*o.c.*, pp. 111, 165, 168) that the souls were moving on the surface of the earth in the *antipodal* hemisphere. I think that Stewart and Heath are undoubtedly right in arguing against a subterranean position for the souls when they see the vision. I am not absolutely certain, however, that the souls remain always on the surface of the earth in the antipodal hemisphere. If *κατὰ μέσον τὸ φῶς* simply means 'in the light,' it is conceivable that they advanced to celestial regions.

¹ It is possible to take *ἀνωθεν* not with *τεταμένον* but with *καθορᾶν* (see Adam, note *ad loc.*)—i.e. 'they saw from above stretching through all the heaven and earth.' This would make the point of view of the souls definitely celestial.

² *Ἀδρόυ* is ambiguous as Adam points out (note *ad loc.*), and may refer either to *φῶς* or to *οὐρανοῦ*. I take the pronoun as referring to *φῶς*. The general sense of the passage is quite clear, as Adam points out: for the next sentence clearly shows that it is the heaven that is bound and

that the light is a band thereof. But if *αὐτοῦ* refers to *οὐρανοῦ*, the meaning may be that the heaven is bound by many chains, of which the light is one (should the prefix in *σύνδεσμον* be pressed?).

³ The existence of a straight part of the light was denied by Boeckh (*Kleine Schriften* III., pp. 297 sqq.) and by Martin (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* XXX., pp. 93 sqq.). Boeckh held that the souls from a place outside the universe saw in the distance a half-circle of the Milky Way, which because of their position appeared to them straight like a pillar; Martin that the souls saw above their heads a half-circle of the Milky Way, but *thought* that it was really a straight light like a pillar, accounting for the dip at each horizon as an effect of perspective (!). But there is nothing in Plato's words which would lead us to believe that the appearance was different from the reality, and both scholars find difficulty in dealing with *διὰ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένον*.

⁴ Note on 616B 11.

⁵ See Adam in the note cited above.

⁶ Adam, note on 616C 14 *sub fin.*

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Theon of Smyrna¹ held this opinion; Proclus also in his commentary on the *Republic*² records it as having been the view of some of his predecessors, and in the confused notice which Suidas has under the heading *τεταμένον φῶς εὐθὺ οἶον κίονα* occur the words, *τινὲς τὸν ἄξονα τοῦ κόσμου. οἱ δὲ κυλινδρὸν τινα πῦρὸς αἰθερίου περὶ τὸν ἄξονα*. It is hardly necessary to say that Plato *quā* mathematician rightly conceived of the axis of the celestial sphere as an imaginary line and not as a material body whether of light stuff or any other stuff. But this is no real objection to his representing the axis otherwise in a passage which is not scientific exposition but myth, where he has a particular poetic and imaginative purpose in view.³

2. The case for a circular part of the light is far more complicated. Plato says that the light is a band of heaven and holds together all the revolving heaven. These words, it is to be noted, do not *in themselves* imply a circular band. It might be held with good reason that the straight light running axis-wise from side to side of the sphere of the universe could have been regarded as performing the function of binding. A parallel could be found in Proclus (in *Tim.* IV. 282A), where the axis is described as *συνεκτικὴν τοῦ ὅλου κόσμου*, and this might again be compared with the Pseudo-Aristotelian *περὶ κόσμου* c. 2, where the poles are said to hold together the sphere (*συνέχοντα τὴν σφαῖραν*). The case for the circular part of the light really turns upon the simile used by Plato, in which he compares the function of the light in binding together the heaven with the function performed by 'the undergirders of triremes' (*τὰ ὑποζώματα τῶν τριήρων*).

Unfortunately the evidence for the nature of *ὑποζώματα* of triremes is not as satisfactory as could be desired. It is established that they were ropes of some kind,⁴ but their position upon the vessel and the function which they performed is still disputed. The most generally accepted view is that which is put forward by Mr. Cecil Torr, *Ancient Ships*⁵ and by Adam in his notes on our passage of the *Republic*. They hold that the hypozomata of triremes were cables which ran round the hull of the vessel outside in a horizontal direction from stem to stern and back again, forming a complete girdle and serving to keep the timbers firmly knit together in heavy seas or under the shock of the enemy's ram. This view has recently been questioned by Mr. Frank Brewster,⁶

¹ P. 143 (Hiller).

² II., p. 199, 31 sqq. (Kroll).

³ Dr. A. B. Cook also reminds me that a world axis which has breadth need not be surprising in a myth which is steeped in Pythagorean doctrine, seeing that the Pythagoreans thought of lines as having breadth, just as they thought of points as having magnitude (Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*³, p. 290).

⁴ Some of the ancients supposed that the *ὑποζώματα* were wooden planks (Procl. in *Remph. Comm.* II., p. 200, 25 Kroll and scholium on this passage, p. 381; cf. scholium on Aristophanes, *Knights* 279, repeated under heading *ὑποζώματα* in Suidas). But it is proved that the *ὑποζώματα* were ropes not planks by the fact

that they occur among the *σκέυη κρεμαστά*, detachable parts, as opposed to the *σκέυη ἐξόλινα*, wooden gear, in inscriptions giving inventories of triremes and their gear belonging to the Peiraeus. See C. Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 41, note 100 and references given in his note 103 on p. 42.

⁵ Pp. 41-42. The view of Adam and Torr is also maintained by Boeckh, *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates*, pp. 133-138; Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten*, pp. 170-184; Cartault, *La Trière Athénienne*, p. 56; Graser, *De Veterum Re Nautik*, § 70.

⁶ *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XXXIV., pp. 63 sqq.: 'The Hypozomata of Ancient Ships.' The suggestion had already been put forward by Warre, *J.H.S.V.*, p. 216.

who puts forward arguments in favour of the theory that the *ὑπόζωμα* was a stout cable stretched down the middle of the ship inside from stem to stern and intended to keep up bow and stern and to prevent the ship from 'hogging.' Such a rope truss is to be seen in pictures of Egyptian ships of 1250 B.C.; it runs down the middle of the ship upon a series of high supports or crutches, and at the stem and stern, which it is its function to keep up, it appears to be fastened to a set of smaller ropes which pass under the keel.¹ Mr. Brewster's view has very great attractions for anyone who is interested in the light of the Myth of Er; for the straight truss running amidships would correspond exactly with the straight light running axis-wise, and it would be possible to interpret the words *εἶναι γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ φῶς σύνδεσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* as indicating that the column of light by spanning the universe held it together. But there is one serious difficulty which Mr. Brewster does not face. If the rope truss of the kind he describes was used on Greek ships, could it ever have been called an *undergirder* (*ὑπὸ ζωμα*)? The name is quite inappropriate to it,² for in the pictures we have of it it occupies a position high up in the ship above the heads of the rowers. This seems the fatal objection to Mr. Brewster's view, and for that reason it is preferable to retain the view of Torr and Adam, which is not open to the same objection,³ and while admitting that the device described by Mr. Brewster might have been employed on Greek ships,⁴ to hold that the *ὑποζώματα* of triremes were not trusses of this kind but cables encircling the hull of the ship on the outside and running in the horizontal direction from stem to stern.⁵

¹ See Cecil Torr, *Ancient Ships*, Plate I., Nos. 4 and 5.

² The fact that the pull was carried down to the keel by a device such as that of the smaller ropes passed under the keel at stem and stern in the Egyptian ships could hardly justify the name, I think.

³ For the *ὑποζώματα*, according to this view, are *undergirders* in the sense that they occupied a place on the lower part of the outside of the ship, under the walls of the ship where they projected, where the structure began to narrow downwards towards the keel. Cf. Graser, *o.c.*, § 82.

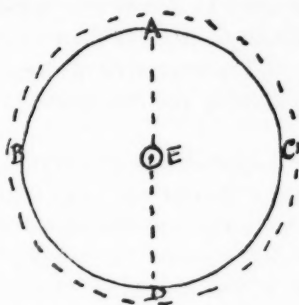
⁴ Mr. Torr, however, holds that this rope truss would have been unnecessary on Greek or Roman war-ships, 'which had decking enough to hold the stem and stern together' (*o.c.*, p. 42).

⁵ Space does not allow of the detailed consideration of the evidence on which the generally accepted view is based. It may be briefly indicated here: (i.) There is the bronze relief of the forepart of a trireme, of which Adam gives a photograph (*o.c.*, Vol. II., p. 443). Some scholars have, however, supposed that the horizontal bands encircling the prow of this ship and interpreted by Adam as hypozomata are mere ornaments. (ii.) The literary evidence is supplied by Athenaeus V. 37. 203E sqq., and by a comparison of Vitruvius X. 15. 6 with Athenaeus

Mechanicus, p. 6. The *Τεσσαρακοντήρης ναὺς* described in Athenaeus V. 203E had a length of 280 cubits and a breadth of 38 cubits, and it took 12 hypozomata of 600 cubits length each. It is significant that $2 \times 280 + 38$ is roughly equivalent to 600, and we have thus an indication that hypozomata encircled galleys from stem to stern. The battering-ram described in the Vitruvius passage was a long beam of timber tapering to a head or rostrum of hard iron. Lengthwise from the rostrum to the other extremity of the beam were stretched three ropes eight fingers thick 'ita religati quemadmodum naues a puppi ad proram continentur.' It is significant that Athenaeus Mechanicus in his description of the same ram says: *ὑποζώνονται δὲ ὅλος ὁ κριος ὀπλοῖς ὀκταδακτύλοις τριῶν*. For Mr. Brewster's criticism of the usual interpretation of these passages see his article referred to above.

The question of 'frapping'—i.e. passing a cable vertically under the hull of a ship—has been considered in relation to the problem of the nature of *ὑποζώματα*; but it is rightly urged, e.g. by Adam, that while 'frapping' was undoubtedly known to the ancients, (*ὑποζώνοντες* in Acts XXVII. 17 probably refers to a device of this kind), it was a device employed in an emergency, while the *ὑποζώματα* of triremes were part of the regular equipment of the vessels. Cf. the arguments adduced by Breusing, *o.c.*, pp. 172 sqq.

Since then the light is said to hold together the heavens in the manner of the undergirders of triremes and these, as has been shown, held the trireme together by forming a continuous girdle around its hull on the outside, the light must be regarded as encircling the heavens on the outside and holding the celestial sphere together in that way. Plato appears all the time to be speaking of one and the same light, but it seems inevitable to conclude, in spite of his lack of explicitness, that the light had at any rate two *parts*, a straight and a circular. With regard to the existence of a circular part to the light this conclusion is further supported by the fact that the light was interpreted by some of the ancients themselves as being the Milky Way,¹ and in thus assigning to the light both a straight part running axis-wise through the heavens and a circular part forming a periphery the two threads of the ancient tradition are united.²



If then in the above rough diagram the circle ABDC may be regarded as representing the celestial sphere and the small circle E the earth, the dotted line, which both encircles the sphere and forms its diameter, will represent the light. 'The ends of its bands' (*τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ τῶν δεσμῶν*)—that is, the ends of its circular portion, of the band which embraces the circumference of the sphere—may be regarded as placed at A, the pole of the sphere which is visible to the souls in the hemisphere in which they are.³ From this pole—that is, in Plato's language, from the ends of the bands—is extended Necessity's spindle, the shaft of which again, like the column of light, represents the axis of the universe.

Adam, with whose account of the shape and position of the light I have shown my agreement, says in his note on 616B 14 (*sub fin.*): 'I have found no parallel in ancient astronomical theories to this conception of a light stretching from pole to pole' (i.e. the straight part of the light). 'The curved part of the

as the Milky Way.

¹ Proclus, *In Remp. Comm.* II., p. 194, 19 sqq. (Kroll), gives it as the opinion of some of his predecessors that the light was meant to represent the Milky Way or the circle of the Zodiac. One of these was Numenius of Apamea, see p. 130. It seems probable from a consideration of the *Somnium Scipionis* (Cic. *de Rep.* VI. 16) that Cicero or his authority interpreted Plato's light

² See above for ancient opinions that the light represented the axis of the cosmos.

³ Aliter Adam, for whom *τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δεσμῶν* come at the centre of the earth (note on 616C 17). But 'the ends of its bands' may be interpreted as the ends of the binding—that is, the circular—portion of the light, and so placed at the pole.

light is no doubt suggested by the Milky Way, which was regarded by the Pythagoreans as either identical with, or an emanation from, the circle of fire which, according to them, held the universe together.¹ It will be my object in the present article to show that the clue to Plato's picture of the light, with both its straight and its curved part, is to be found in Pythagorean doctrine, in so far as that doctrine combined the notion of fire at the centre of the universe with the notion of fire encircling and girdling the sphere of the universe. The myth of Er is full of ideas drawn from Orphic-Pythagorean sources, and the comparison of the light to the hypozomata of triremes suggests that at this particular point Plato had Pythagorean ideas in mind. For the comparison of the circular part of the light to hypozomata of triremes implies the comparison of the heavens or the universe to a ship, and this is known to have been a Pythagorean image. It seems probable that they used the word *ὀλκός* (merchant-ship) to denote the sphere of the heavens or the universe,² and they undoubtedly compared their central fire to the keel of a ship (*τρόπις*).³ In seeking an explanation of the light in Pythagorean doctrine we shall then be further following the clue given in the words *τὰ ὑποζώματα τῶν τριήρων*.

With regard to the Pythagorean central fire the question that first occurs is this: 'Is the doctrine of a central fire compatible with the doctrine of a geocentric universe, and were the two doctrines in fact combined in early Pythagoreanism?' Professor Burnet has clearly shown⁴ that the early Pythagorean teachers, up to and including Philolaos himself, regarded the universe as geocentric, maintaining the doctrine of a spherical earth in equilibrium in the middle of the cosmos. The system of the universe ascribed to the Pythagoreans by Aristotle,⁵ in which the middle of the cosmos is occupied by the central fire and the earth becomes one of the planets and revolves with them and the antichthon around the central fire, was a later theory of the school. But while this conclusion of Professor Burnet may be accepted, it is nevertheless possible to show, I think, that the doctrine of the

¹ Cf. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*⁵ I., p. 435, note 2.

² [Philolaos], fr. 12 (Diels, *F.V.S.*³ 32B 12), *καὶ τὰ μὲν τὰς σφαίρας σώματα πέντε ἐντι, τὰ ἐν τῇ σφαίρᾳ πῦρ «καὶ» ὕδωρ καὶ γᾶ καὶ ἀήρ, καὶ ὁ τὰς σφαίρας ὀλκός, πέμπτον*. The so-called fragments of Philolaos and the opinions attributed to him have, of course, to be used with great caution for evidence of early Pythagorean doctrine. But the word *ὀλκός* may safely be said to be a trace of very ancient Pythagorean terminology. See Burnet, *E.G.P.*³, p. 293. He interprets *σώματα* in this passage as = regular solids and the fifth *σῶμα* as the dodecahedron, which, being used for the construction of the whole universe (Plato, *Tim.* 55c), is thus termed the 'hull of the sphere.' Gundermann, *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. LX., p. 145, explains *σώματα* as 'bodies' in the sense of 'elements,' and the fifth element, which is the ship of the sphere, is identified by him with *αἰθήρ*

(cf. Diels, *F.V.S.*³, on [Philolaos] fr. 12). The significance of the term *ὀλκός* is not affected by the difference of opinion about the exact interpretation of the passage.

³ Aet. II. 4. 15 (*F.V.S.*³ 32A 17) (opinion attributed to Philolaos), *τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν τῷ μεσαιοτάτῳ πυρὶ, ὅπερ τρόπως δίκην προυπεβάλετο τῆς τοῦ παντός «σφαίρας» ὁ δημιουργὸς θεός*. Zeller⁵, p. 416, note 1, 'das ἡγεμονικὸν stoisch und der Demiurg platonisch ist, aber die Vergleichung des Centralfeuers mit dem Kiel des Weltganzen doch ursprünglich scheint.'

⁴ *E.G.P.*³, p. 111 and pp. 297 sqq.

⁵ *De Cael.* II. 13. 293A 20 sqq., *ἐναντίως οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καλούμενοι δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι λέγουσιν· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μέσου πῦρ εἶναι φασί, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐν τῶν ἀστρον οὐσαν, κύκλῳ φερομένην περὶ τὸ μέσον νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν ποιεῖν*, etc. This system is ascribed to Philolaos in Aet. II. 7. 7 (Diels, *F.V.S.*³ 32A 16).

central fire itself was earlier; that the earliest generations of the Pythagorean school conceived of fire as existing at the heart of their central, spherical earth. It was only the separation of this fire from the earth and the conversion of the earth into a planet that was late.

The grounds for holding this view are as follows:

(1) Simplicius in his commentary on the passage from the *De Caelo* referred to above describes the Pythagorean central fire system in the same way as Aristotle,¹ concluding with the words: καὶ οὕτω μὲν αὐτὸς (i.e. Aristotle) τὰ τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἀπεδέξατο. He then goes on: οἱ δὲ γνησιώτερον αὐτῶν μετασχόντες πῦρ μὲν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ λέγουσι τὴν δημιουργικὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐκ μέσου πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ζωογονοῦσαν καὶ τὸ ἀπεψυγμένον αὐτῆς ἀναθάλπουσαν. διὸ οἱ μὲν Ζηνὸς πύργον αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἰστόρησεν, οἱ δὲ Διὸς φυλακὴν, ὡς ἐν τούτοις, οἱ δὲ Διὸς θρόνον, ὡς ἄλλοι φασίν. ἄστρον δὲ τὴν γῆν ἔλεγον ὡς ὄργανον καὶ αὐτὴν χρόνον· ἡμερῶν γάρ ἐστιν αὕτη καὶ νυκτῶν αἰτία· ἡμέραν μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖ τὸ πρὸς τῷ ἡλίῳ μέρος καταλαμπομένη, νύκτα δὲ κατὰ τὸν κῶνον τῆς γινομένης ἀπ' αὐτῆς σκιᾶς. ἀντίχθονα δὲ τὴν σελήνην ἐκάλουν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ὥσπερ καὶ 'αἰθερίαν γῆν,' etc. Simplicius then here states that the more genuine Pythagorean doctrine was that of a fire in the midst of the earth, endowing the earth with life and heat (ἐκ μέσου πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ζωογονοῦσαν καὶ τὸ ἀπεψυγμένον αὐτῆς ἀναθάλπουσαν). The earth in this doctrine was still called a star (ἄστρον), being regarded as an instrument of time, inasmuch as it created day when lighted up on the side facing the sun and night by the shadow thrown upon the side turned away from the sun. Now this doctrine is regarded by Zeller² as a late modification of the central fire system described by Aristotle in the *De Caelo* on the ground that the doctrine of the earth's revolution on its axis is only found among the Pythagoreans of the fourth century. But it is not necessary to suppose that the earth in the system described by Simplicius rotated on its axis.³ Rather it is exactly like the central earth of Plato's *Timaeus* which, while possessing no rotatory motion on its axis, yet is called φύλακα καὶ δημιουργὸν νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας,⁴ because by remaining fast in its central position on the axis of the cosmos it creates night by casting its shadow on the side of it that is turned away from the sun. There is then evidence in this passage of Simplicius that some Pythagoreans at some period held the doctrine of a central fire hidden in the bowels of the earth and that the doctrine was considered a piece of genuine Pythagoreanism. Simplicius gives no indication of date but it has been shown above that the doctrine need not necessarily be late.⁵ It may quite well have been early.

¹ Heiberg, pp. 511 sqq.

² Zeller⁵, I., pp. 420 sqq.

³ This is pointed out by Sir T. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 250: 'The earth in the system described by Simplicius is not in motion, but at rest. For Simplicius, so far from implying that the earth rotates, thinks it necessary to explain how the Pythagoreans to whom he

refers could, notwithstanding the earth's immobility, call it a "star," and count it, exactly as Plato does, among the "instruments of time."'

⁴ Plato, *Tim.* 40C 1.

⁵ The doctrine that the moon is the antichthon, which is apparently ascribed to the same Pythagoreans, looks a late one. But this need not necessarily show that the doctrine of the fire in

For (2) in favour of the view that the early Pythagoreans already conceived of fire as occupying the interior of the spherical, central earth there is the evidence of general probability. The existence of fire within the earth was a notion to which the action of volcanoes and the phenomenon of hot springs would readily give rise. Empedocles, well acquainted with Mount Etna and the volcanic phenomena of Sicily, held that there was fire inside of the crust of the earth,¹ and his view must have been held by many besides himself in Sicily and South Italy. There is moreover to be considered in this connexion the fact that Hestia, the hearth or hearth-fire, and Earth were already identified by the time of Sophocles and Euripides;² and it may be considered at least probable that this identification, whoever was responsible for it, was partly due to the conception of the earth as containing fires within itself.³

So far then as general probability goes, there is nothing against and everything in favour of the contention that the doctrine described by Simplicius as belonging to the more genuine adherents of Pythagoreanism was early. The contention is still further supported by (3) a consideration of Aristotle, *Met.* N 1091a 13 sqq., and a comparison of it with a passage in Anatolius *περὶ δεκάδος*.⁴

Aristotle is describing in this passage in the *Metaphysics* the construction of the universe according to the Pythagoreans, and says *φανερῶς λέγουσιν ὡς τοῦ ἐνὸς συσταθέντος, εἴτ' ἐξ ἐπιπέδων εἴτ' ἐκ χροιάς εἴτ' ἐκ σπέρματος εἴτ' ἐξ ὧν ἀποροῦσιν εἰπεῖν, εὐθὺς τὸ ἔγγιστα τοῦ ἀπείρου εἴλκετο καὶ ἐπεραίνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ πέρατος*. Now it is Professor Burnet's opinion that we are here dealing with very early Pythagorean cosmology,⁵ and he gives good reason for holding that the *ἄπειρον* in this passage is to be considered as air, mist or darkness and that *πέρας* is light or fire, which there is evidence for supposing was an important element in early Pythagorean cosmology.⁶ That the original One of this passage is to be considered as a fiery unit does not seem improbable when it is remembered that the One, the monad, is throughout Pythagorean

the earth's interior is late also. Later generations of Pythagoreans might easily have combined the original doctrine of fire inside a central, spherical earth with new-fangled notions about the antichthon. In the view which I hold to be the original Pythagorean one, that of a central fire in the bowels of a spherical earth situated in the centre of the cosmos, there is nothing to correspond to the antichthon but the antipodes (*Alex. Polyhistor. ap. Diog. Laert.* VIII. 25: The Pythagoreans taught *γίνεσθαι . . . κόσμον ἐμψυχον, νοερὸν, σφαιροειδῆ, μέσῃ περιέχοντα τὴν γῆν καὶ αὐτὴν σφαιροειδῆ καὶ περιρικουμένην, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀντίποδας καὶ τὰ ἡμῶν κάτω ἐκείνοις ἄνω*). Is it unreasonable to suppose that the later notion of the separate antichthon developed from the idea of antipodes?

¹ Fr. 52 (*F.V.S.*³ 21B 52), and compare fr. 62 (*F.V.S.*³ 21B 62).

² Fr. 615 (Pearson) (*Philodemus de piet.*, p.

23): καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐκ τῆς Ἰνᾶς τὴν γῆν μετὰ τῶν θεῶν φησίν, ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ δὲ καὶ Ἑστίαν εἶναι.

Euripides, fr. 944 (Nauck²):

καὶ Γαῖα μήτερ· Ἑστίαν δὲ σ' οἱ σοφοὶ
βροτῶν καλοῦσιν ἡμένην ἐν αἰθέρι.

³ See Martin, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* XXVIII, Pt. I., pp. 335 sqq. Martin, following Nägelsbach, attributes the identification to the Orphics, p. 349. Cf. οἱ σοφοὶ βροτῶν in the fragment of Euripides.

⁴ P. 30, Heiberg (*Annales intern. d'Histoire*, 1900)=*Theol. Arith.*, p. 6, Ast (Diels, *F.V.S.*³ 18A 44).

⁵ *E.G.P.*³, pp. 108 sqq.

⁶ Hippasos made Fire the first principle according to Aristotle, *Met.* A. 984a 7. Moreover, Light and Darkness appear under the heads of Limit and Unlimited respectively in the Pythagorean table of opposites (*Met.* A. 986a 25).

doctrine identified with the central fire.¹ But what is the position of this original fiery unit in the universe? It is natural to think of it as in the centre;² and when the universe, which must be thought of in terms of early Pythagorean doctrine as geocentric, has been completely formed, it will still be in the centre, the boundless mist or darkness having condensed around it to form the hard solidity of the earth. That this is not a purely imaginary picture may be claimed by reference to the passage in Anatolius:

Πρὸς τούτοις ἔλεγον (i.e. the Pythagoreans) περὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων κεῖσθαι τινα ἐναδικὸν διάπυρον κύβον, οὗ τὴν μεσότητα τῆς θέσεως καὶ Ὅμηρον εἰδέναι λέγοντα· 'τόσσον ἔνερθ' αἶδαο, ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης.' εἰκότασι δὲ κατὰ γε τοῦτο κατηκολουθηκέναι τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς οἳ τε περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ σχέδον οἱ πλείστοι τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν φάμενοι τὴν μοναδικὴν φύσιν ἐστίας τρόπον ἐν μέσῳ ἰδρῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἰσόρροπον φυλάσσειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔδραν. Here the monad appears as ἐναδικὸς διάπυρος κύβος, and Empedocles, Parmenides, and their followers are said to have been among those who followed the lead of the Pythagoreans in placing this fiery matter (τὴν μοναδικὴν φύσιν ἐστίας τρόπον) in the midst of the universe. But as both in Empedocles' doctrines³ and in the Way of Opinion in Parmenides' poem⁴ the universe had the earth for its centre, by the fiery core of the universe which is attributed to them in this passage must be meant the fiery core of the earth.⁵ In view then of the statement made in the passage that in this respect Empedocles and Parmenides followed the lead of the Pythagoreans, it is justifiable, it seems, to hold that in the early Pythagorean cosmology, which was geocentric, the earth was regarded as having a fiery core. The character and position we assigned to the monad above was in fact the correct one.

It is time now to turn to the consideration of the fiery periphery of the universe in Pythagorean doctrine. Aristotle implies the existence of it in their doctrine in *De Caelo* II. 13. 293A 20 sqq., the passage which was referred to above as containing the account of the central fire system of the later Pythagoreans. After describing the position of the central fire and the motion of the earth round it, he accuses the Pythagoreans of constructing this system of the universe according to *a priori* principles instead of the evidence of observed facts, and then says: πολλοῖς δ' ἂν καὶ ἑτέροις συνδόξειε μὴ δεῖν τῇ γῇ τὴν τοῦ μέσου χώραν ἀποδιδόναι, τὸ πιστὸν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν φαινόμενων ἀθροῦσιν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν λόγων. τῷ γὰρ τιμιωτάτῳ οἴονται (i.e. the Pythagoreans)

¹ Cf. Ross, note *ad loc.* He identifies the One with the Limit here.

² Cf. Ross, note *ad loc.*: 'The One is thought of as being in the centre of a shapeless mass of air or vapour and gradually introducing shape and limit into it, working from within outwards.'

³ Aristotle, *De Cael.* 295A 13 sqq.; Ps. Plut. *strom.*, fr. 10 (Diels, *Dox. Graec.*, p. 582).

⁴ Aet. III. 15. 7; Diog. Laert. IX. 21.

⁵ See what is said above about the fire in the

earth in Empedocles' doctrine. The reference to Parmenides in the passage from Anatolius is to the cosmology in the second part of Parmenides' poem. I am reserving the discussion of this cosmology to a later place. It is significant that in the Anatolius passage the words immediately following those quoted above are: καὶ δὴ Εὐριπίδης ὡς Ἀναξαγόρου γενόμενος μαθητὴς οὕτω τῆς γῆς μνησθεὶς 'ἐστὶν δὲ σ' οἱ σοφοὶ βροτῶν νομίζουσιν.'

προσῆκειν τὴν τιμιωτάτην ὑπάρχειν χώραν, εἶναι δὲ πῦρ μὲν γῆς τιμιώτερον, τὸ δὲ πέρασ τῶν μεταξύ, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον καὶ τὸ μέσον πέρασ· ὥστ' ἐκ τούτων ἀναλογιζόμενοι οὐκ οἴονται ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου κεῖσθαι τῆς σφαίρας αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ πῦρ. According to Aristotle then the Pythagoreans reasoned that the centre, being one of the limits of the universe and therefore one of the most honourable places in it, must be occupied by the honourable element of fire; but he does not go on to state expressly the second conclusion which must inevitably follow from this line of reasoning—i.e. that the other limit, τὸ ἔσχατον, the outermost part of the universe, must also be occupied by fire. But if the doctrine of a fiery periphery is not expressly stated here as belonging to the Pythagoreans, it is most certainly implied. Now in Aetios II. 7. 7¹ we read: Φιλόλαος πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ περὶ τὸ κέντρον ὕπερ ἑστίαν τοῦ παντός καλεῖ . . . καὶ πάλιν πῦρ ἕτερον ἀνωτάτῳ τὸ περιέχον. Statements made about Philolaos in the doxographers have to be used with great caution, because their authenticity is as questionable as that of fragments of Philolaos. But the evidence from Aristotle given above may be quoted in support of the supposition that the circumambient fire referred to in the Aetios passage was a piece of genuine Pythagorean doctrine.² Yet a comparison of these two passages, while indicating the existence in Pythagoreanism of a doctrine of a fiery periphery, does not carry us very far or set us on very certain ground; and it is to be noticed moreover that the system of the universe described in both passages is that of the later Pythagorean teachers, who placed fire in the centre and made the earth and antichthon revolve round it.

In search of further information about the fiery periphery it is necessary to turn to another quarter which has not yet been explored—the fragments of Parmenides and the views attributed to him. Here, in spite of the tantalizingly fragmentary character of the evidence, a good deal of information is forthcoming not only about a fiery periphery but also about the central fire.

The part of Parmenides' poem which furnishes the information is Part II., the Way of Opinion. The problem of the relation of this part to Part I., the Way of Truth, the vexed question whether the cosmology of the Way of Opinion is to be regarded as Parmenides' own explanation of the sensible world or as an exposition of the opinions of others for the better instruction of his disciples, fortunately need not here be discussed. It is the Pythagorean character of the cosmology that is important from our point of view; and that the cosmology is Pythagorean in character, or at any rate that there are Pythagorean ideas in it, will be generally admitted.³

¹ Diels, *F.V.S.* 32A 16.

² It does not seem possible to draw any certain conclusions from Aet. I. 14. 2, οἱ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου σφαιρικὰ τὰ σχήματα τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων, μόνον δὲ τὸ ἀνώτατον πῦρ κωροειδές, or from Aet. II. 20. 12, the passage about the sun's light being only a reflection. Cf. Burnet, *E.G.P.* 3, p. 298 note.

³ Ancient tradition relates that Parmenides had associated with the Pythagorean Ameinias or that he was a Pythagorean. For the evidence

see Burnet, *E.G.P.* 3, p. 170. Professor Burnet's view is that the second part of the poem is 'a sketch of contemporary Pythagorean cosmology.' Mr. F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy*, p. 217, 'the Pythagorean character of the Way of Opinion is recognized.' Zeller, *o.c.*, p. 572, grants the existence of Pythagorean doctrine in the Way of Opinion. Cf. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers* (Eng. trans.) I, p. 182.

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Now Simplicius¹ quotes from Parmenides' Way of Opinion the following fragment describing the goddess who governs all things:

αἱ γὰρ στευνότεραι πλῆντο πυρὸς ἀκρήτοιου
αἱ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς νυκτός, μετὰ δὲ φλογὸς ἔεται αἶσα·
ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τούτων δαίμων ἢ πάντα κυβερνᾷ·
πάντα γὰρ <ἢ> στυγεροῖο τόκου καὶ μίξιος ἄρχει
πέμπουσ' ἄρσενι θῆλυ μίγην τό τ' ἐναντίον αὐτῆς
ἄρσεν θηλυτέρῳ.

There is not much doubt that the goddess who is described here as δαίμων ἢ πάντα κυβερνᾷ is to be identified with Ananke, who is mentioned in fragment 10:²

εἰδήσεις δὲ καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντα
ἔθνη ἔφυ τε καὶ ὥς μιν ἄγουσ' ἐπέδησεν Ἀνάγκη
πεύρατ' ἔχειν ἄστρων.

For in Aetios II. 7. 1, which comes from Theophrastus,³ the statement is made that Parmenides called the δαίμων κυβερνήτης by the name of Ἀνάγκη, and the similarity between the functions of Parmenides' goddess as described by Simplicius (τὰς ψυχὰς πέμπειν ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς εἰς τὸ ἀειδές, ποτὲ δὲ ἀνάπαλιν φήσιν)⁴ and the part played by Ἀνάγκη in the journey of the souls to rebirth in Plato's myth of Er, makes it practically certain that the statement of Theophrastus was correct.⁵ Whether we should go further and identify Δίκη, the goddess of the proem, with Ananke and the δαίμων κυβερνήτης is more doubtful. But this identification has also the support of the Aetios passage (Theophrastus);⁶ and I note that in the Way of Truth, where there are, as it were, echoes of the terminology employed in the cosmology of the Way of Opinion, Δίκη and Ἀνάγκη seem to be interchangeable terms (cf. fr. 8, l. 13, τοῦ εἵνεκεν οὕτε γένεσθαι | οὐτ' ὄλλυσθαι ἀνῆκε δίκη χαλὰσασα πέδῃσιν | ἀλλ' ἔχει, with l. 30 sqq., χούτως ἔμπεδον αὐθι μένει· κρατερὴ γὰρ Ἀνάγκη | πείρατος ἐν δέσμοισιν ἔχει, τό μιν ἀμφὶς ἔργει).⁷ However it is the identification of the δαίμων ἢ πάντα κυβερνᾷ with Ἀνάγκη that is important for our purpose: the possible identification of both with Δίκη, though interesting, is not material.⁸

¹ Simp. Phys. (Diels) 39. 12 and 31 10=Parmenides, fr. 12; F.V.S.³ 18B 12.

² F.V.S.³ 18B 10, l. 5 sqq.

³ Burnet, o.c., pp. 189-90.

⁴ Simp. Phys. 39. 17 (continuation of the passage referred to above), ταύτην καὶ θεῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι φησι λέγων 'πρώτιστον μὲν ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσαστο πάντων' . . . καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς πέμπειν ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς, etc. (F.V.S.³ 18B 13).

⁵ Cf. Burnet, E.G.P.³, p. 190. He accepts the identification, as also does Gilbert. 'Die δαίμων des Parmenides' in Archiv. für Geschichte der Philosophie, N.F. XIII., pp. 25 sqq. Cf. F. M. Cornford, o.c., p. 222.

⁶ 'Ἦντινα καὶ δαίμονα κυβερνήτην καὶ κληροῦχον ἐπονομάζει Δίκην τε καὶ Ἀνάγκην, cf. Aet. I. 25. 3. Παρμενίδης καὶ Δημόκριτος πάντα κατ' ἀνάγκην· τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ εἶναι εἰμαρμένην καὶ δίκην καὶ πρόνοιαν καὶ κοσμοποιον.

⁷ The third interchangeable term is Μοῖρα, cf. l. 37 of the same fragment.

⁸ Gilbert, o.c., makes the second identification. Diels (Parmenides *Lehrgedicht*, p. 51) separates Δίκη πολύτοιμος from the goddess of the proem; Δίκη is only the priestess of the temple of light. Neither does he identify the goddess of the proem and the δαίμων κυβερνήτης.

Now the position of the *δαίμων κυβερνήτης*—that is, Ananke—in the universe as described in the Way of Opinion is a desperately vexed question. 'For the narrower crowns,'¹ says Parmenides, 'were filled with unmixed fire and those next to them with night, and a portion of flame rushes with it. In the midst of these is the goddess who governs all things.' There is just not enough of the fragment to make the meaning of the words *ἐν μέσφ τούτων* clear, and when we turn to the doxographers, instead of finding the obscurity cleared up, we are confronted by a diversity of opinion.

Simplicius placed the goddess in the centre of the universe (*Phys.* 34. 14, *καὶ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον ἐκείνος μὲν ἐν κοινὸν τὴν ἐν μέσφ πάντων ἰδρυμένην καὶ πάσης γενέσεως αἰτίαν δαίμονα τίθησιν*), that is, in the centre of the earth, for in Parmenides the earth occupies the central place in the cosmos.² It is clear too that in so placing her he was probably thinking of the Pythagorean *ἐστία* or central fire.³ For compare his statement in *Phys.* 39. 17, *ταύτην καὶ θεῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι φησι λέγων 'πρώτιστον μὲν Ἐρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων'* with the familiar Pythagorean designation of the central fire as *μητὴρ θεῶν*.⁴ This recalls the statement made in Anatolius (see above) that Parmenides placed *τὴν μοναδικὴν φύσιν*—that is, fiery matter—*ἐστίας τρόπον* in the midst of the universe.⁵ It is then justifiable to say that according to one tradition the Ananke of Parmenides was conceived in terms of the Pythagorean central fire and seated at the heart of the earth, which is the centre of the universe.

But it is clear from the doxographers that there was another tradition which regarded the goddess as celestial and placed her in the heavens and not in the centre of the earth. In Aetios II. 7. 1 she is identified with the central crown of the mixed crowns of fire and darkness;⁶ and Cicero is following a similar tradition when he says in the *De natura deorum*:⁷ 'Nam Parmenides quidem commenticium quiddam coronae simile efficit (*στεφάνην* appellat) continente ardore lucis orbem, qui cingit caelum, quem appellat deum; in quo neque figuram diuinam neque sensum quisquam suspicari

¹ That the noun to be supplied with *στεινότεραι* is *στεφάναι* is clear from Aet. II. 7. 1: *Παρμενίδης στεφάνας εἶναι περιπελεγμένας, ἐπαλλήλους, τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀραιοῦ, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πυκνοῦ· μικτὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ φωτὸς καὶ σκότους μεταξὺ τούτων*. The reference is to rings or bands of light or darkness or light and darkness mixed, which are conceived as running round the sky and encircling the central earth. See Burnet, *E.G.P.*³, pp. 187 sqq.

² See references above.

³ Burnet, *E.G.P.*³, p. 189; cf. Gilbert, *o.c.*, p. 42. I have shown above that there is no objection to the view that the early Pythagoreans conceived of their central, spherical earth as containing a core of fire.

⁴ Aet. II. 7. 7, where the names given to the central fire by [Philolaos] are given as *ἐστία*, *Διὸς οἶκος*, *μητὴρ θεῶν*, *βωμὸς καὶ συνοχή καὶ μέτρον φύσεως*. These names are surely to be regarded as early and not as belonging to the late Pythagoreans only. Their character attests their

antiquity.

⁵ It is interesting to notice that in Orphic Hymn XXVII. (Abel) to Rhea the mother of the gods, who is in that hymn identified with Hestia, the language is in the highest degree reminiscent of that used of the *δαίμων κυβερνήτης* in Parmenides' poem:

'Αθανάτων θεότιμὲ θεῶν μῆτερ, τρέφε πάντων, τῇδε μόλοις, κράντειρα θεά, σέο, πότνι, ἐπ' εὐχαῖς, . . . ἢ κατέχεις κόσμοιο μέσον θρόνον, οὐνεκεν αὐτῇ γαῖαν ἔχεις θνητοῖσι τροφὰς παρέχουσα προσηγεῖς. ἐκ σέο δ' ἀθανάτων τε γένος θνητῶν τ' ἐλο- χεύεθ . . . Ἰστίη αὖδαχθεῖσα . . .

The two equations Rhea=Earth and Hestia=Earth seem to have operated here.

⁶ *Τῶν δὲ συμμυγῶν τὴν μεσαιάτην ἀπάσαις «ἀρχήν» τε καὶ «αἰτίαν» κινήσεως καὶ γενέσεως ὑπάρχειν, ἦντινα καὶ δαίμονα κυβερνήτην καὶ κληροῦχον ἐπονομάζει Δίκην τε καὶ Ἀνάγκην.*

⁷ I. II. 28 (*F.V.S.*³ 18A 37).

potest.' This tradition is consistent not only with the evidence of the fragments themselves, where 'Ανάγκη is said to have bound the heavens together, as a fiery circle might be regarded as binding them (fr. 10, ll. 6, 7, ὥς μιν [i.e. οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντα] ἄγουσ' ἐπέδησεν 'Ανάγκη | πείρατ' ἔχειν ἄστρον), but also with the function attributed to ἀνάγκη in Pythagorean tradition elsewhere. For according to Aet. I. 25. 2, Πυθαγόρας ἀνάγκην ἔφη περιεῖσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ.¹

To this diversity of opinion in the ancient tradition corresponds a like diversity of opinion among modern commentators; for while Gilbert places Ananke in the middle of the earth like Simplicius,² and Diels inclined to that view,³ Burnet protests against the relegation of the goddess to the middle of the solid earth, and regarding the Milky Way as a band intermediate between sun and moon and noting that it is prominently mentioned in fragment 11, suggests the Milky Way as a suitable position for her.⁴

I suggest that the solution of the problem arising out of the diversity of tradition about the position of Parmenides' goddess is to be found in regarding her as having been described in the complete poem as *both* seated at the centre of the earth *and also* occupying a fiery circle or band which encircled the heavens. But why should she have occupied two seats? The answer is that she is fire:⁵ for note that Simplicius seems to have identified her with the fire at the heart of the universe, and in Aetius (Theophrastus) and Cicero she is described not as dwelling in the fiery circle or crown but as *being* the fiery circle or crown. May it not be surmised then that in Parmenides' Way of Opinion under the form and figure of the goddess Ananke there was expressed an early Pythagorean doctrine of a universe warmed and animated by fire at its centre (cf. the words of Simplicius noted above, ζορογονοῦσαν καὶ τὸ ἀπεψυγμένον αὐτῆς ἀναθάλπουσαν), and also girded and encircled by the same life-giving and life-preserving element? This I suppose to have been probably the earliest form of the Pythagorean doctrine of the central fire and fiery periphery, the evidence for which we examined above. Now it is clear that Ananke was connected with the giving of life (cf. the evidence of fragments 12 and 13 with Aet. II. 7. 1), and for the part played by fire and heat in producing and maintaining life there is good evidence in early Greek

¹ Cf. Iambl. *Theol. Arith.* 60: τὴν 'Ανάγκην οἱ θεόλογοι τῇ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ ἐξωτάτῃ ἀντυγιέτην ἔτιχον.

² *l.c.*, pp. 27 sqq.

³ In *Parmenides Lehrgedicht*, p. 107. In the note on p. 161 in *F.V.S.*³ he simply states two views—(a) that of Berger, who placed her in the sun and (b) that of Simplicius and Gilbert.

⁴ The character of the Milky Way corresponds to the description given of the mixed crowns or bands in Aet. II. 7. 1 (μικτὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ φωτὸς καὶ σκότους μεταξὺ τούτων); cf. Aet. III. 1. 4, Παρμενίδης τὸ τοῦ πυκνοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀραιοῦ μῆγμα γαλακτοειδὲς ἀποτελεῖται χρώμα. Aet. II. 20. 8A

would support the statement that the Milky Way was intermediate between sun and moon. Burnet inclines not to believe in the 'mixed bands,' which he thinks arise from a confused interpretation of fr. 12 by the authority responsible for the statement in Aet. II. 7. 1. But he says (p. 191): 'Whether we believe in the "mixed bands" or not makes no difference . . . ; for the statement of Aetios that she was in the middle of the mixed bands undoubtedly implies that she was between earth and heaven.'

⁵ Cf. Mr. F. M. Cornford's illuminating remarks in *From Religion to Philosophy*, p. 222 and notes.

philosophy.¹ Therefore it does not seem going too far to say that in this Pythagorean doctrine of central and encircling fire may be found an early conception of the soul of the universe, expressed in the materialistic terms which alone were possible in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. Zeller² held that the doctrine of a world-soul diffused throughout the whole from the central fire or from the circumference was not to be ascribed to the Pythagoreans, but to be regarded as a later doctrine, due to the influence of Plato and the Stoics on early conceptions of the central fire. He says: 'Wir dürfen daher die Lehre von der Weltseele den Pythagoreern nicht beilegen, und wenn sie auch vom Centralfeuer Wärme und Lebenskraft in die Welt ausströmen liessen, so ist doch diese alterthümlich materialistische Vorstellung von der Annahme einer Weltseele, als eines besondern, unkörperlich gedachten Wesens, noch sehr verschieden.' It is just this materialistic notion of heat and vital force flowing into the universe from the central fire and from the circumambient fire that I suppose to have been the early Pythagorean doctrine.

In connexion with Parmenides' poem a difficulty certainly occurs in that according to the doctrine of a fiery periphery, as we find it indicated in Aristotle,³ Ananke ought to occupy the outermost of the crowns which encircle the sky instead of a position midway between earth and heaven in the middle of the mixed crowns.⁴ In *Aet.* II. 7. 1 the outermost part of the universe is described thus: *καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ πάσας* (i.e. *τὰς στεφάνας*) *τείχους δίκην στερεὸν ὑπάρχειν, ὑφ' ᾧ πυρώδης στεφάνη*. Apparently Parmenides' universe is bounded by a solid firmament,⁵ underneath which runs a fiery crown. It seems at first sight that the goddess ought to have been seated in this *πυρώδης στεφάνη* underneath the solid firmament, just as she is the fire which lies beneath the solid crust of the central earth. Why then was she relegated to a position midway between earth and sky? The difficulty admits of solution, if with Burnet we place her in the Milky Way, the Milky Way being regarded as occupying the central position among the mixed crowns in Parmenides' universe. If I am right about an early Pythagorean doctrine of the soul of the universe regarded as central and circumambient fire, then all the wheels of fire in heaven, whether pure, like the outermost *πυρώδης στεφάνη*, or enclosed in darkness, like those which by virtue of their enclosing coat of the dense element form the mixed crowns,⁶ could have been thought of as constituting the circumambient part of the world soul, and I suggest that this may actually

¹ E.g., according to Heraclitus the life of the human soul depended on the maintenance in it of the due measures of fire. See Diels, *F.V.S.*³ 12B 36 (cf. 12B 26 and 118, and Burnet, *E.G.P.*³, p. 151). For the part played by fire in producing life in Empedocles' doctrine see Diels, *F.V.S.*³ 21B 62.

² *loc. cit.*, pp. 416 sqq.

³ *De Caelo* II. 13. 293A 20 sqq., cited above.

⁴ Cf. *τῇ ἐξωτάτῃ ἀντην* in the passage from Iamblichus quoted above.

⁵ Cf. the crystalline vault of Empedocles, *Aet.* II. 11. 2.

⁶ These are the circles, the fire bursting out from which makes the Morning Star, the Sun, the Milky Way, the other stars, and the Moon. *Aet.* II. 7. 1 compared with II. 15. 7, II. 20. 8A, III. 1. 4. See Diels, *F.V.S.*³, p. 161 note.

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have been the case.¹ Now, as Burnet points out,² the appearance of the Milky Way in the night sky may very well have given rise to the whole theory of the encircling of the universe by wheels or bands of fire. At any rate of all the bands assumed by early astronomical speculation³ it is the only band actually visible in the sky, and therefore it is likely to have been pointed to by early Pythagorean thinkers as the visible manifestation of the circumambient fire.⁴ Here then is one reason for localizing the goddess, who is the source of life and mistress of souls, in the Milky Way. But there is another which was probably far more cogent. According to a tradition going back into remote antiquity the Milky Way was the place or path of souls,⁵ and its circle was therefore the appropriate seat for her whose function was the dispensing of life and death to individual souls.⁶

It is time now to turn back to Plato and to consider whether the conclusions which have been reached contain any explanation of the light of the myth of Er. This light, as was seen above, is described as running axis-wise through the sphere of the heavens, so as to pierce their centre the earth, and also as encircling on the outside the celestial sphere. It is then, like Parmenides' Ananke, both circumambient and present at the earth's centre. Moreover among the ancient explanations of Plato's light there were some that identified it with the Milky Way, with which, as we saw above, there was reason to suppose Ananke's circle in Parmenides might be identified; and the fact that the goddess Ananke herself plays an important part in Plato's myth, though hard it is indeed to localize her exactly from the indications that Plato gives of her position,⁷ seems to show that Parmenides and Plato were both here concerned with the same set of ideas. If then, as may without difficulty be conceded, fire and light are equated and regarded as but two names for the same stuff or substance, consideration of the evidence of Parmenides' poem plainly suggests that the light as described by Plato may be intended to represent the soul of the cosmos, and that in a myth which had for its object the story of the fate of the soul of man, the microcosm, Plato

¹ The intervals between the wheels of fire in heaven may have been identified with the musical intervals of the scale (Burnet, *E.G.P.*³, p. 110). Burnet suggests *ad loc.* that the doctrine of the 'harmony of the spheres' began in some such way. If, as has been suggested recently by Mr. Cornford (*C.Q.* XVI., pp. 145 sqq.), the doctrine that soul is a harmony belongs to early Pythagoreanism, then the fiery world soul may have been regarded as constituting an *ἁρμονία*.

² *E.G.P.*³, p. 191.

³ The theory of wheels or bands goes back, of course, to Anaximander. Burnet suggests (*E.G.P.*³, p. 188) that Pythagoras adopted the theory from him.

⁴ Cf. Zeller⁵ I., p. 435.

⁵ Porphyry, *de antro nymph.* 28. Pythagoras is given as authority for the statement that souls *συνάγεσθαι εἰς τὸν γαλαξίαν*. Cf. the view of Heraclides of Pontus, a Pythagorizing Platonist

(Stob. *Ecl.* I. 41. 39).

But the notion that the Milky Way is the place or path of souls is probably older even than Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans. Cf. the instances of the occurrence of the idea among primitive peoples given in Tylor, *Primitive Civilization*⁴ I., p. 359, and Dr. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II., pp. 37 sqq.

⁶ Simplicius, *Phys.* 39. 17 quoted above.

⁷ The spindle revolves *ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀνάγκης γόνασιν* (617B). This might suggest that the whole heaven is embraced and surrounded by Ἀνάγκη. But see Adam's note *ad loc.* for another interpretation of the phrase, which it must be confessed lacks explicitness if an exact statement of Ἀνάγκη's position in the universe is sought from it. Again the souls pass ultimately *ὐπὸ τὸν τῆς Ἀνάγκης θρόνον* (621A), but their whereabouts at this point in the story is not clear.

found it appropriate to insert a picture of the soul of the world, the macrocosm, and for this picture went back to early Pythagorean doctrines of life-giving fire or light encircling the universe and residing at the centre of the universe, the interior of the earth.

In support of this view two pieces of further evidence are forthcoming:

1. Adam already noted¹ the similarity of wording between the description of the light in *Republic* 616 B and the passage in *Timaeus* 34B, where the Pythagorean Timaeus describes the construction of the world-soul by the *δημιουργός*. In the *Timaeus* the words are *ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ θεὸς διὰ παντός τε ἔτεινεν καὶ ἔτι ἔξωθεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῇ περιεκάλυπεν*. In the *Republic* the light is *διὰ παντός τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένον εὐθὺ οἶον κίονα* and is further described as *σύνδεσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . . πᾶσαν συνέχον τὴν περιφορὰν*. The general resemblance of the passages is noteworthy² and the verbal parallel contained in the words spaced is particularly striking. Thus a comparison between these two passages supports the view that Plato's light in the myth is meant to represent the world-soul.

2. The other piece of evidence is derived from Heracleides of Pontus. He belonged to the generation after Plato and was a student and teacher of Platonism. He was also deeply influenced by Pythagorean doctrine, as the fragments that are left of his works testify.³ He represents just that blending of Platonism and Pythagoreanism which makes his evidence peculiarly valuable. It is then significant that Heracleides defined the soul as light-like (Aetius IV. 3. 6 *Ἡρακλείδης φωτοειδῆ τὴν ψυχὴν ὥριστο*). It is to be presumed that this statement refers to the individual soul,⁴ the soul of the microcosm, but it strengthens the evidence for the theory that the Pythagoreans may have thought of the world-soul, the soul of the macrocosm, as light or like light, and that Plato when Pythagorizing may have represented it thus.

The fire of the periphery and the fire of the centre together in early Pythagorean doctrine constituted the world-soul. The fire of the periphery Plato represents, if our interpretation of his language in 616C is correct, by a single circle or band of light which embraces the celestial sphere on the outside and passes through the poles. It is not, strictly speaking, identical with the Milky Way, which is a great circle, or nearly a great circle, which passes near the poles but not through them. But the Milky Way may be regarded as an emanation from it,⁵ a visible token in the ordinary workaday world of the existence of the fire of the periphery, which can only be seen in its true form by the eyes of purified and disembodied souls.

But what of the fire of the centre? It has been greatly developed in

¹ Note on 616B 14 *ad fin.*

² Cf. *Timaeus* 36D sqq., especially the words *ἢ δ' (i.e. ἡ ψυχὴ) ἐκ μέσου πρὸς τὸν ἑσχατον οὐρανὸν πάντῃ διαπλακείσα κύκλῳ τε αὐτὸν ἔξωθεν περιεκάλυπεν* . . .

Cf. again the language used of *Ἀνάγκη* in the Orphic *Theogony* of Hieronymus and Hellanicus (Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 485), *διωργυρωμένην ἐν*

παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, τῶν περάτων αὐτοῦ ἐφαπτομένην. I owe this last passage to Dr. A. B. Cook (see *Zeus* II, Part II, p. 1022).

³ Zeller⁴ II, pp. 1034 sqq.

⁴ Cf. Philoponus, *De an.*, quoted in Diels, *Dox. Graec.*, p. 214, and Plut. *de lat. uin.* VI. 1130B.

⁵ Cf. Zeller⁵ I, p. 435, and Adam, note on 616B *sub fin.*

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Plato's picture. For it has been extended both ways into a long and narrow band, which pierces the earth's crust and then is prolonged in both directions to the north and south poles of the heavens. It has become διὰ παντός τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένον φῶς εὐθύ, οἷον κίονα, an axis of light which runs diametrically through the whole circular universe. What other conception has been added to that of circumambient and central fire to produce this result, and what is the meaning of οἷον κίονα, the simile used to describe the axis of light?

Dr. A. B. Cook, in Volume II. of his book *Zeus*, has put forward a most convincing explanation of Plato's simile and of the pillar-like part of the light.¹ He points out that the pillar of light 'has no counterpart in astronomical fact, or, for that matter, in astronomical theory,' and suggests that 'it was based upon popular belief with ritual usage behind it.' It is derived from cult, where the symbol of the sky-god Zeus was a pillar reaching from earth to heaven and supporting the heavens above the earth. Dr. Cook adduces evidence from Tarentum, in the close neighbourhood of the Pythagorean cities of Kroton and Metapontum, of such a pillar-cult of Zeus, and compares the association of the sky-god with a pillar in Minoan times and the worship of the Irminsul, the pillar of the sky-god, in the early Germanic areas. His conclusion is that Plato's pillar of light was suggested by the old notion of the world-pillar or column of the universe which prevented the heavens from falling down upon the earth.

The transition from pillar to axis, it is to be noted, is easy.² The sky-pillar or sky-prop belongs to the old notion of the flat earth overhung by the heavens as by a roof. As knowledge increased and the conception of a spherical earth maintained in equilibrium in the centre of a spherical world gained ground, the sky-pillar, becoming obsolete in its old form and function, was transmuted into the cosmic axis. Like the original sky-prop, which had its base on earth and carried the heavens on its summit, the axis, as it stretches from end to end of the spherical heavens and pierces their centre the earth, performs a sustaining function, for on it the unity and the revolution of the whole cosmos depend. The conversion of pillar into axis may quite well have taken place in Pythagorean circles, for the Pythagoreans were especially concerned with maintaining the doctrine of a spherical earth in the midst of a spherical cosmos. If this was the case, then it is appropriate to meet in a myth, which is full of Pythagorean ideas, the axis of the universe compared with a pillar. When the souls saw the straight light first of all in the distance, it rose up before them in the form and semblance of the old sky-pillar.

Dr. Cook's explanation of the straight light is in itself convincing and it can be supported by some further evidence in ancient tradition. The tradition is connected with the Titan Atlas, who was represented in the myths as

¹ Pp. 44 sqq. I should like to express here my great sense of obligation to Dr. Cook, who put at my disposal part of Volume II. of *Zeus*, when

it was still in proof, in June, 1923.

² *Zeus* II., p. 169.

supporting the heavens. In general Atlas is represented as himself bearing the heavens with some part of his own body—head and hands or shoulders or back. This is the conception found in Hesiod, *Theogony* 517 sqq.:

Ἄτλας δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
πεύρασιν ἐν γαίης, πρόπαρ Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων,
ἔστηώς κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτησι χέρεσσιν.¹

But in the *Odyssey* I. 52 sqq. there is a difference and his task is described thus:

ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς
μακρὰς αἰ γαίαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι.

'Himself he upholds² the long pillars which keep earth and heaven apart.' Again in Aeschylus, *P.V.* 350 sqq., he supports upon his shoulders the pillar that sunders heaven from earth:

Ἄτλαντος, ὃς πρὸς ἑσπέρους τόπους
ἔστηκε κίον' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονὸς
ὧμοις ἐρείδων, ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγαλόν.³

It seems that two originally incompatible ideas have gone to the making up of the picture which these two passages give. One idea was that of a giant bearing the heavens on his shoulders and so preventing them from falling down upon the earth; the other, originally separate, was that of sky-pillars or sky-props which held up the heavens just as in a house the pillars hold up the roof. An attempt to reconcile the two ideas produced the somewhat obscure conception of the giant supporting or upholding the pillar or pillars.⁴ Now Atlas was later interpreted as symbolizing the axis of the cosmos. The earliest statement of this interpretation is found in Aristotle, *De motu animal.* 699a 27 sqq., οἱ δὲ μυθικῶς τὸν Ἄτλαντα ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔχοντα τοὺς πόδας δόξαιεν ἂν ἀπὸ διανοίας εἰρηκέναι τὸν μῦθον, ὥς τοῦτον ὥσπερ

¹ Cf. *ib.* 746 sqq.; Aesch. *P.V.* 430; Eur. *Ion* 1; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* I. 8. 21 (Wagner). See Pauly-Wissowa, art. *Atlas*, p. 2122 *fin*.

² ἔχει=upholds, supports; cf. Butcher and Lang translation *ad loc.*, Merry and Riddell note *ad loc.* But an alternative interpretation is 'guards.' So O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie u. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 382; art. *Atlas* in P.-W., p. 2123. But *ἐρείδων* in the Aeschylus passage is in favour of the former interpretation.

³ The variation between the singular 'pillar' and the plural 'pillars' in the Atlas tradition is probably to be explained by a twofold notion of the supports of heaven. There is first the notion of a single sky-prop, for which the proper place is the centre of the flat earth. There is also the notion of heaven supported at its extremities on pillars four in number (Orphic *Εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσῶν* 39. κόσμον τε μέρη τετρακίονος αὐδῶ, cf. Ibycus ap. schol. on Ap. Rhod. III. 106); cf. Zeus II., pp. 125 sqq., p. 56, note 2. Dr. Cook (*op. cit.*, pp. 140 sqq.) holds that belief in a sky

resting on four pillars is not inconsistent with belief in one central prop. Both notions of the supports of heaven seem reflected in the Atlas legend. For not only does he in one instance support a single, in the other support several pillars, but he himself, while generally located at the extremities of the earth (Hes. *Theog.* 518, 746 sqq.; Aesch. *P.V.* 350; Eur. *Hipp.* 742 sqq.; Verg. *Aen.* IV. 481, VI. 795 sqq.; Apollodorus II. 120 [Wagner]), was in some versions at any rate placed in the middle of the earth under the central point of the overhanging heavens (Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 403 sqq.; cf. the island of Calypso, Atlas' daughter, described in *Od.* I. 50 as situated *ὅθι ὁμαλὸς ἐστὶ θαλάσσης*).

⁴ P.-W., p. 2123; cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 382. When the stage of rationalization of legend is reached the blending of the two ideas is easy. Atlas is interpreted as a lofty mountain in North-West Africa, and the mountain is called *κίων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* (Hdt. IV. 184).

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διάμετρον ὄντα καὶ στρέφοντα τὸν οὐρανὸν περὶ τοὺς πόλους.¹ But this rationalization of Atlas was probably much earlier than Aristotle. Delatte² attributes it to the Pythagoreans; and in view not only of the Pythagorean conception of the spherical form of the universe, but of the interest of the same thinkers in the interpretation of mythology, and especially Homeric legend, his opinion seems in the highest degree probable.

If Atlas was interpreted as the axis, his pillar, the original sky-pillar, lent itself, of course, to the same interpretation. Now we have express testimony in Eustathius' commentary on the *Odyssey*³ that some of the ancients thus interpreted Atlas' pillars and that they also believed that Plato was thinking of Atlas and his pillar or pillars when he spoke of the straight pillar-like light.⁴ Some, says Eustathius, in their explanation of Atlas in *Od.* I. 52, τὸν νοητὸν ἄξονα νοοῦσι τὸν διὰ μέσης τῆς γῆς ἐληλαμένον. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βορείου εἰς τὸν νότιον πόλον καθήκοντα. περὶ δὲ . . . οὐρανὸς εἰλεῖται. εὐθείαν ἀσώματόν τινα ὄντα καὶ ἀόρατον, συνεκτικὴν τοῦ παντός. ὥς συνεχὴς μὲν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁλότητα καὶ εἰς. διὸ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεΐ, κίονα εἶπεν ἐνικῶς καὶ οὐ κίονας. ἄλλως δὲ εἰς δύο διαιρούμενος κατὰ τε τὸ ὑπόγειον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὑπεργειον, κίωνων πέμπει τινὰ ταύτην φαντασίαν. ἐφ' αἷς κίοσιν ἡ γῆ τε οἶον βέβηκε, καὶ οὐρανὸς ὑπανάχεται. Then after some lofty interpretations of Calypso and Ulysses he sums up: καὶ οὕτω μὲν τὸν Ἀτλαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀχθοφορομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κίονας εἰς τὸν κοσμικὸν ἐστὶ μεταλαμβάνειν ἄξονα. δὲ κίονα καὶ ὁ Πλάτων καλεῖ, τὸ ὄνομα παρ' Ὀμήρου λαβών.

Thus then Dr. Cook's interpretation of the pillar of light in the myth of Er as a form of the sky-pillar is supported by an ancient tradition which connected Plato's pillar of light with the pillar or pillars of Atlas, themselves, as we have seen, sky-pillars.⁵

It remains now to bring into connexion with each other the conception of

¹ For evidence of the same interpretation see Scholia on Hes. *Theog.* 507, 509, 517, Aesch. *P.V.* 428 and Eur. *Hipp.* 747; and compare Hesychius, ἄτλας· ἀτολμος, ἀπαθής, καὶ ἡ δι' οὐσᾶ εὐθεία ἕως τῶν πόλων, and the passage of Eustathius quoted below.

² *Études sur la Littérature Pythagoricienne*, p. 124, where he quotes the passage from Eustathius which is given below.

³ 1389. 59.

⁴ Cf. Procl. in *Remf. comm.* II., p. 200. 5 sqq., Kroll.

⁵ In view of Dr. Cook's most interesting thesis that the omphalos at Delphi, which marked the centre of the earth, was originally topped by a pillar symbolizing the sky-god and representing the central support of the sky (*Zeus II.*, pp. 169 sqq.), a passage from the myth of Thespisius of Soli in Plutarch, *De ser. num. uind.* 566D, raises some interesting conjectures. This myth is on many grounds comparable with the myth of Er, and like it is full of Orphic-Pythagorean doctrine. Now when Thespisius, whose wanderings

in the world of the dead appear to be entirely aerial and celestial (Stewart, *Myths of Plato*, p. 379), had seen the plain of Lethe and the great mixing-bowl which his guide informed him was the oracle of Night and the Moon, he was not able to rise yet further and view the true oracle of Apollo situated higher in the heavens; but his guide tried to show him, though without success, τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ τρίποδος . . . (i.e. the tripod of the celestial oracle of Apollo) διὰ τῶν κόλπων τῆς Θέμιδος ἀπεριδόμενον εἰς τὸν Πάρασον. The light reaches down from the sky, and passing through the womb of Themis is set in Parnassus—i.e. in the earthly Delphi. In view of the general similarity between the two myths, and in view further of the interest of the Pythagoreans in Delphi, is it too bold to suppose that the light here and the straight light like a pillar in the myth of Er are one and the same, and that both conceptions go back ultimately to the notion of the sky-god's column which stretches from the heaven, which it supports, down to earth, in which its base is set?

the sky-pillar and the conception of the world-soul, which we saw to have been the main idea which Plato intended to express by his picture of the light.

In the first place the two conceptions are harmonious. Soul is here represented as a force that binds and holds together the world. The sky-pillar is essentially that which upholds and sustains. The conception of the sky-pillar in the form of an axis of light is then not intrusive upon, or disturbing to, the conception of soul as fire holding together and maintaining the world.

In the second place it is to be observed that in the notion of the world-soul regarded as fire or light lies the explanation of the fact that the sky-god's pillar, represented in cult by stone or wood, has come to have its substance transmuted and to appear as a pillar of light. With increasing knowledge of astronomical fact the sky-pillar, as was shown above, became converted into the cosmic axis. That is perfectly comprehensible. But why then should the axis come to be conceived of as made of light- or fire-substance instead of being regarded as a line? I suggest that the answer to this question is that the conception of an axis of light may have been a Pythagorean doctrine, originating in the fundamental conception, discussed above, of light and fire within the earth combined with a girdle of fire and light completely encompassing the heavens. The axis of light is, in fact, a continuation of the fire within the earth, meant to connect it with the fiery girdle that surrounds the cosmos, so that the fire or light which is essential to the life of the world shall be wrapped not only completely round but also all through the body of the world.¹ The central fire, in fact, pierces the earth completely² and then shoots up in a pillar of light both to the north and south poles, there meeting the fire of the periphery. This, it may be objected, is a strange conception of the Pythagorean central fire and one for which no evidence will easily be found in other accounts of Pythagorean doctrine. Yet it is to be observed that among the names of the monad (=central fire) preserved in the *Theologumena Arithmetica* of the late Pythagorean Nicomachus of Gerasa occur both Ἄτλας and also ἄξων;³ and it may not be altogether fanciful to suppose that the epithet Ζηνὸς πύργος for the central fire, for which we have the excellent evidence of Aristotle,⁴ has some connexion with the pillar of the sky-god. At any rate, both this epithet and those which correspond to it, such as Διὸς φυλακή,⁵ Διὸς θρόνος⁶ and Διὸς οἶκος,⁷ point to connexions of the central fire with the sky-god as well as the earth; and these connexions lend some support to the theory that the central fire may have been regarded as flaming

¹ Cf. again *Timaeus* 34B: ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ θεῖς διὰ παντός τε ἔτιεν καὶ ἐν ἐξωθεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῇ περιεκάλυπεν.

² The channel by which it passes is χάσμα διαμπερὲς τετρημένον like the χάσμα which forms Plato's Tartarus in the *Phaedo* myth 112A.

³ Nicomachus of Gerasa, *ap. Phot. bibl.*, p. 143A 30 sqq. . . . καὶ Ἀτλάντα (αὐτὴν τερατολογούσι)· ἄξων τέ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἥλιος καὶ πυράλιος καὶ μορφὴ δὲ καὶ Ζηνὸς πύργος, καὶ σπερματῆτης λόγος, Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ προφήτης καὶ λόγιος. Delatte

says with regard to this reference (*op. cit.*, p. 143). 'ἄξων désigne en effet le même être qu'Atlas,' quoting the passage from Eustathius given above.

⁴ Fr. 204 (Rose), from *Simpl. comm. in De Cael.* (Heiberg, p. 51). Note that this occurs in the same passage which vouches for the Pythagorean doctrine of a central fire hidden in the heart of a central earth.

⁵ Arist. *De Cael.* II. 13. 293b 2.

⁶ *Simpl. l.c.*

⁷ Aet. II. 7. 7 (opinions of Philolaos).

upwards and outwards from the earth¹ and may have eventually come to be shaped into the form of a cosmic axis.

My conclusion then is that in his picture of the light in the myth of Er Plato meant to represent the world-soul, and that he borrowed for this purpose a Pythagorean doctrine of the world-soul, regarded in material terms as central fire and fire of the periphery, a doctrine for which there is evidence in Parmenides' Way of Opinion. There is no evidence in the fragments of Parmenides for the axis of light, which in Plato's picture unites the fire of the centre with the fire of the circumference. But the axis of light, in that it itself represents a sustaining force and further serves the purpose of uniting the central with the circumambient fire, is a conception which completely harmonizes with the idea of soul as completely enveloping and intimately penetrating the universe, the idea expressed in the *Timaeus*. Further it is not impossible, in spite of the absence of evidence from Parmenides, that the axis of light may itself have been a Pythagorean notion, a conception developed in some part of the Pythagorean school, at some period of its history previous to Plato, out of the original conception of a central fire.²

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¹ See Preuner in art. *Hestia* in Roscher, p. 2620, in the section where Hestia is discussed in her capacity as goddess of the sacred fire: 'Ohne Zweifel haben wir es hier mit einer indogermanischen religiösen Grundanschauung zu thun, wonach das Feuer in der aufsteigenden Flamme und dem zum Himmel aufwirbelnden Rauch die Gaben der Menschen, die in ihm verbrannt wurden, zu den Himmlischen, vor allem zum Himmels-gott selbst, zu Zeus, hinaufzutragen scheint.' Might this conception of the flame mounting into the sky have been transferred to the Pythagorean Hestia or Central Fire?

² An interesting parallel may in conclusion be noted. Dr. A. B. Cook has called my attention to the striking likeness between the Pythagorean circumambient Ananke and the Egyptian sky-

goddess Nut, who is represented as with her own body forming the arch of the sky (see fig. 34 in A. Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (trans. Griffiths), p. 29; and Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, Tav. CLVI. sqq.). Moreover, Egyptian mythology said that originally 'Nut still lay upon her brother Keb (the earth). Therefore her father Shu thrust himself between them and raised her into the heights, and with her he raised into the heights all the gods that had hitherto been created, and Nut took possession of them, counted them, and made them into stars' (Erman, *l.c.*). If Nut resembles Ananke, then Shu resembles Atlas, and we seem to have an extraordinarily close parallel to the Pythagorean conception which united the goddess of the circumambient fire with Atlas and his pillar.

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ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE *HIPPIAS MAIOR*.

GROTE's powerful defence of Thrasyllus' canon should have taught us at least not to reject lightly any dialogue which, like the *Hippias Maior*, is there classed as genuine. The burden of proof lies with those who attack our dialogue. Raeder,¹ Ritter,² and Apelt³ consider it to be genuine, while Ast,⁴ Jowett,⁵ Horneffer,⁶ and Röllig⁷ declare against it, as also Gomperz,⁸ Zeller,⁹ and Lutoslawski.¹⁰

With expert opinion thus divided (for we will not hold with Socrates that those who are divided cannot be experts) let us carefully examine the arguments on both sides, remembering however that, as Jowett puts it,¹¹ 'a great and original writer would have no object in fathering his works on Plato.' We shall see that the writer of the *Hippias Maior* was both great and original. 'Indeed,' says the same scholar a little later, 'the greater part of the evidence for the genuineness of ancient Greek authors may be summed up under two heads only, (1) excellence and (2) uniformity of tradition.' It is along these lines that our dialogue has been attacked, and I hope to prove that the attack is groundless.

I. *Evidence in Aristotle*.—In Aristotle (*Metaph.* 1025a) we read ὁ ἐν τῷ Ἱππία λόγος of the discussion in the *Hippias Minor*. Obviously, we are told, if Aristotle refers to the lesser Hippias as *the* Hippias, he knew of no other dialogue of that name. But Aristotle, as we have it, is far too carelessly written to allow us to draw inferences from an omitted adjective. In a lecture note we ourselves might write just this, knowing so well that there are two dialogues that it is quite unnecessary to remind ourselves of it by putting it down; especially if we had just reread one of them. Nor would it be necessary to remind our hearers or readers. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact (to be referred to later, and admitted even by Röllig¹² and Miss Tarrant,¹³ who consider the dialogue to be spurious) that the *Hippias Maior* can hardly have been written by an intelligent person who had read the *Philebus*. And it was certainly written by an intelligent person.

There is an interesting passage of the *Topica*¹⁴ which bears a quite remarkable resemblance to an important part of our dialogue, so remarkable indeed

¹ *Platons philosophische Entwicklung*, p. 102, and p. 106, note 1.

² *Platon*, Vol. I., p. 359.

³ *Platonische Aufsätze*, p. 203 sqq.

⁴ *Platons Leben und Schriften*, p. 457.

⁵ Jowett does not translate the dialogue.

⁶ *De Hippias Majore*.

⁷ *Der Hippias Major in Wiener Studien*, 1900.

⁸ *Greek Thinkers*, Vol. II., p. 283.

⁹ *Die Phil. der Griechen*, II., pp. 480-481.

¹⁰ *Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic*, p. 194.

¹¹ *Plato*, Vol. II., p. 425.

¹² *L.c.*

¹³ *Journ. of Philol.*, 1920.

¹⁴ 146a 21.

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that I must quote the passage in full: ἔτι ἐὰν πρὸς δύο τὸν ὀρισμὸν ἀποδοῖ καθ' ἑκάτερον, οἷον τὸ καλὸν τὸ δι' ὄψεως ἢ τὸ δι' ἀκοῆς ἡδύ, καὶ τὸ ὄν τὸ δυνατόν παθεῖν ἢ ποιῆσαι, ἅμα γὰρ ταῦτόν καλὸν τε καὶ οὐ καλὸν ἔσται, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὄν τε καὶ οὐκ ὄν. τὸ γὰρ δι' ἀκοῆς ἡδὺ ταῦτόν τῳ καλῳ ἔσται, ὥστε τὸ μὴ ἡδὺ δι' ἀκοῆς τῳ μὴ καλῳ ταῦτόν, τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀντικείμενα τὰ αὐτά. ἀντικεῖται δὲ τῳ μὲν καλῳ τὸ οὐ καλόν, τῳ δὲ δι' ἀκοῆς ἡδεῖ τὸ οὐχ ἡδὺ δι' ἀκοῆς. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι ταῦτόν τὸ οὐχ ἡδὺ δι' ἀκοῆς τῳ οὐ καλῳ. εἰ οὖν τί ἐστι δι' ὄψεως μὲν ἡδὺ δι' ἀκοῆς δὲ μὴ, καλόν τε καὶ οὐ καλὸν ἔσται. ὁμοίως δὲ δείξομεν καὶ διότι ταῦτόν ὄν τε καὶ οὐκ ὄν ἐστίν.

Compare with this *Hippias Maior*, 300-303, a passage which, as we shall see, has been attacked. Why does Aristotle choose just this example (τὸ δι' ὄψεως ἢ τὸ δι' ἀκοῆς ἡδύ) of a faulty definition? Why is it just this one he explains, not the other? Surely the simplest reason is that he had read the *Hippias Maior* and, astute logician that he was, had noted the passage most important from a logical point of view. We have no proof of this, it may be a coincidence; but at any rate we have here something far more tangible than the omitted adjective in the passage quoted above from the *Metaphysics*.¹

2. *Internal Evidence*.—Can we believe that anyone except Plato could have succeeded in writing a dialogue so thoroughly Platonic, both in form and matter? It is because this is so hard to believe that the opponents of the Platonic authorship have put forward the theory that the dialogue was written by a pupil of Plato, some time between the appearance of the *Gorgias* and that of the *Philebus*. With this theory, the latest exponent of which is Miss Tarrant, we will deal soon. But as long ago as 1816 Ast declared the work to be spurious. The passages 290E, μέρμερος πάνυ ἐστίν κ.τ.λ., and 300D (the ill-fated explanation of qualities that belong to both and not to each and *vice versa*) he dogmatically asserts to be unplatonic, the first as exaggerated, the other as awkward. We can but disagree with him and point out, with Apelt,² that there are in the dialogue numerous examples of real Socratic irony, as for example in 285 (Hippias and the Spartans), and the way Hippias is treated throughout. Admittedly, Hippias has not the author's sympathy, but is the attack on him essentially different from that on Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, Thrasymachus in *Republic* I., or even Euthyphro? I think not. We have here the same Socrates as in the other dialogues. Any slight difference of tone there may be is due to Hippias' overweening and illogical conceit, which naturally drives Socrates to rudeness—but not of a very offensive kind.

That Socrates' arguments are sometimes sophistic does not, contrary to what Ast tells us³ (quoting 284D and 285A), imply spuriousness. These passages are logically defensible, but even if they were not, Socrates uses fallacious arguments in obviously genuine dialogues—as, for instance, in *Gorgias* 475B and 477A, where the argument which destroys Polus' contention

¹ On formal accuracy in Aristotle see Excursus in Mr. L. H. G. Greenwood's edition of *Nicomachean Ethics* VI.

² *Platonische Aufsätze*, p. 234.

³ *L.c.*, pp. 460 sqq.

is based on a confusion between the feelings of the actor and those of the spectator. Lastly, Ast says¹ that 281D-282B is both unplatonic and untrue. Of course, Plato did not believe that contemporary philosophers were greater than those of old, but the whole point is that Socrates, by pretending to agree with Hippias, leads him on to make a fool of himself. Much has also been made of the difference between Hippias in the *Protagoras* and in our dialogue. A careful study of the two will establish once for all that this difference only exists in the minds of commentators, and that wherever we meet Hippias in Plato, we at once recognize him to be the same man. Here I will only deal with a point of language. Not only the differences, but also any chance similarity, are unduly emphasized by those who deny Plato's authorship.

We read in *Protagoras* 347A the following words spoken by Hippias: ἔστι μέντοι καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ εὖ ἔχων, ὃν ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξω, ἂν βούλησθε, and in *Hippias Maior* 286A: ἔστι γάρ μοι περὶ αὐτῶν παγκάλως λόγος συγκείμενος, καὶ ἄλλως εὖ διακείμενος καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι κ.τ.λ.

Now, according to Miss Tarrant, the second passage must have been copied from the first. But clearly Hippias was the sort of man who always did have a λόγος παγκάλως συγκείμενος about every subject under the sun, as indeed did all the sophists. And when you satirize the same man you are bound to say the same things about him, and unless you are a pedant you will naturally come to use the same words, or some of them. Hippias is represented as saying οἶμαι νῦν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν also in *Xen. Memor.* IV. 4, 7. As a matter of fact ἔστι, λόγος, περὶ, and καί are the only identical words in the two passages. I would dismiss such otiose parallels in Apelt's words: 'But what original thinker, who is also so productive of literary work, does not repeat himself, must not repeat himself, if he has a clear and consistent mind?'

As most of the objections of earlier scholars are embodied in Miss Tarrant's article,² it will be sufficient for our purpose to deal fully with her arguments.

Style.—The imaginary speaker is quite in Plato's manner. No exact parallel can perhaps be found, but we shall find no difficulty here if we remember—

1. The 'Protagoras' speech in the *Theaetetus*.
2. Diotima in the *Symposium*.
3. Meletus introduced in *Euthyphro* 5B.
4. The atheist in *Laws* X. 893B.
5. The Laws in the *Crito*.
6. The man who denies the existence of absolute Beauty in *Rep.* V. 479A.
7. The imaginary speaker in *Gorgias* 451-452D.

There is also a trace of the same method in *Gorgias* 506D. Of these 3, 5, 7, seem especially to the point. Everyone of them is slightly different from all the rest, and no less so than the speaker in our dialogue. Such a person is introduced when for the sake of politeness (as here and in the *Gorgias*), friend-

¹ *L.c.*, pp. 460 sqq.

² *Journ. of Philol.* XXXV., 'The *Hippias Major*.'

ship (*Crito*), or modesty (*Symposium*), Socrates does not like to state his objections bluntly. As the Budé editors well put it: 'L'invention de ce personnage allégorique, intraitable et malappris, qui ne quitte jamais Socrate et ne le laisse jamais en repos sur ses opinions mal démontrées, est saisissante.'

The reference by Socrates to himself in the third person (298B: Τὸν Σωφρονίσκου, δς ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ.) is, we are told, unplatonic. The following examples will prove that this view is mistaken:

1. In *Phaedrus* 228C Socrates, addressing Phaedrus, speaks of him in the third person for a whole paragraph, and see also 244A.

2. *Gorgias* 495D: Καλλικλῆς ἔφη Ἀχαρνεύς, and Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν is said by each of the other, and Socrates answers of himself οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ.

3. *Meno* 78D, ὡς φησι Μένων, says Socrates, addressing Meno.

4. *Euthyphro* (5A) says: οὐδέ τῳ ἂν διαφέρει Εὐθύφρων τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων.

The last example is an exact parallel, and the οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ of (2) comes very near.

We may note in passing that Socrates does not here identify himself with the imaginary speaker, as some have thought. This would indeed be an artistic blunder. But all he says is: 'Even supposing we could deceive him, even so I should not be satisfied,' and the mysterious questioner is again called in. Nor does Socrates identify himself with this third person at the end of the dialogue (304D). But he describes their connexion as so intimate that we can guess the truth, though Hippias does not. This is not inartistic.

Another trace of Platonic style is the way certain startling thoughts, not directly connected with the subject in hand, are clothed in neat and epigrammatic form. These brilliant flashes are very characteristic of Plato. E.g.:

296B: ποιοῦντες ἄκοντες, calling to mind Socrates' theory of οὐδεὶς ἔκων κακός. κακὰ δέ γε πολὺν πλείω ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἀγαθὰ πάντες ἀνθρώποι· ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ παίδων καὶ ἐξαμαρτάνουσιν ἄκοντες.

Words and Expressions.—Most of these would have attracted no attention had they appeared in one of the dialogues that have always been considered genuine. Sometimes indeed identical expressions have thus passed unnoticed elsewhere. Miss Tarrant classes her remarks under four heads—namely, Echoes of Platonic Phrases, Plays on Words, Peculiarities of Style and Syntax, and Vocabulary.

With the first two we are not here concerned, for she admits that they are platonic (except ἀπῆσας, which is discussed below). Those with a supposed metaphysical import I have preferred to consider in a special section. The rest of her objections will be taken in order. A few points are omitted; they are so clearly a matter of opinion that discussion is but a waste of time. Even so I may have had to dwell on matters which may seem trifling to some, but they have been repeated by one scholar after another since Ast, and should be dealt with, if possible, once for all:

292C: ὅστις διθύραμβον τοσούτον ᾄσας οὕτως ἀμούσως πολὺ ἀπῆσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρωτήματος. Translated after Liddell and Scott: 'In your singing you

have wandered away from the question,' and said to be unplatonic. Possibly; but does it not rather mean: 'You have sung out of tune with the question'—i.e. 'Your answer does not fit.' Cp. *Timaeus* 26D, οὐκ ἀπαρόμεθα λέγοντες, where ἀπάδω is used in exactly the same sense as here; and also *Laws* 802E, ἀρμονία ἀπάδειν, to sing out of tune; as in *Laws* 662B, ὥς γε νῦν σχέδον ἀπάδομεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, where it means to be out of tune with one another. Ast translates it 'dissentio.' See also *Hippias Minor* 374C; and cp. συνάδω in *Gorgias* 461A and *Phaedo* 92C. Van Herwerden saw the right meaning when he said (*Mnemosyne*, Vol. XXXV., 1907): 'Non potuit dithyrambi longitudo carpi, sed qualitas, itaque requiro τοιοντονί.' But the emendation, like most of his, is unnecessary: τοσοντονί rightly refers to the length, ἀπῆσας to the quality, and the meaning is: 'You have sung such a long dithyramb so unmusically, all out of tune with the question.'

290E: τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐστιᾶσθαι ἄνευ ὄψου ἂν πάνν γενναίου ποιήσειεν. We are told that this is a defective imitation of *Republic* II. 372C, ἄνευ ὄψου, ὡς ἔοικας ποιεῖς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐστιωμένους. But there is really nothing remarkable about the construction. (a) We may take ἐστιᾶσθαι as doing double duty, and construe τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐστιᾶσθαι ἄνευ ὄψου ἂν πάνν γενναίου ποιήσειεν (sc. ἐστιᾶσθαι), for which see *Phaedrus* 267A, τὰ μεγάλα σμικρὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιούσιν; (b) or we may take ἄνευ ὄψου as a predicative expression, equivalent to an adjective, τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐστιᾶσθαι ποιήσειεν ἄνευ ὄψου ἂν πάνν γενναίου (sc. εἶναι), which is not really different from the ordinary construction, ἀσθενῇ ποιεῖν τὸν θυμόν, etc.

296D: δ' ἐβούλετο ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ εἰπεῖν is condemned as a reminiscence of tragedy, cp. 300C, πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς; but see *Symposium* 192C, ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι βουλομένη ἐκατέρου ἡ ψυχὴ δῆλ' ἐστίν, and *Republic* II. 365A, τί οἰόμεθα ἀκουούσας νέων ψυχὰς ποιεῖν, also *Aristoph. Clouds* 319, ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὸ φθέγμ' ἡ ψυχὴ μου πεπότῃται; *Xenoph. Oecon.* VI. 14, πάνν μου ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπεθύμει αὐτῶν τινι συγγενέσθαι.

300C and 303C: For προφαίνεται, which is said to be chiefly tragic, cp. *Rep.* VIII. 545B, τῷ νῦν προφαινομένῳ λόγῳ; and *Charmid.* 172E, ἄτοπ' αἷττα ἔφην μοι προφαίνεσθαι.

When we come to deal with vocabulary proper, we should remember that Hippias, like most sophists, and probably more than most, was apt to use archaic and bombastic language, and we should expect a certain number of rather unusual words. Also the imaginary speaker is described as awe-inspiring, almost Homeric. He, too, will account for a good deal.

290E: μέμμερος is, as Miss Tarrant says, an epic word, as is also γεγωνεῖν in 292D.

295A: ἂ μὴ μέγα, ὦ Ἰππία, λέγε. The phrase is burlesque it is true, but not out of place.

293A: δύσφημον is a poetic word, but it is brought in as a direct antithesis to the εὐφημα of Hippias. So in Euripides, *Andromache* 1144, κρανγὴ δ' ἐν εὐφήμοισι δύσφημος δόμοις. This play on words is quite Platonic, nor is Plato afraid to use poetic words for the sake of such an effect.

295B: οὐκ ὀχληρὸς ἔσομαί σοι. ὀχληρὸς = irksome, troublesome. This is the ordinary meaning of the word. It is in *Rep.* VIII. 569A (μετὰ ὀχληρῶν συμποτῶν), where it is usually translated 'turbulent,' that we have an unusual meaning. So if either passage is to be attacked it is that in the *Republic*; but there is no reason why it should not mean 'irksome' there also.

291E: no
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292A: 'n
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287A: om
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285E: as
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291E: τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ τυγχάνομεν. Usually translated, with Ast, 'uiri sententiam non assequimur,' and then condemned as unplatonic. But why not translate 'we don't catch him,' 'he escapes us again,' literally, 'we are missing him'? In this sense we read in the *Laus* 717A, τοῦ σκοποῦ τυγχάνοι, and metaphorically, as here, in *Sympos.* 193C, εἰ τῶν παιδικῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος τύχοι. The metaphor is of a mark aimed at.

292A: μου ἐφικέσθαι πειράσεται. Miss Tarrant says wrongly that ἐφικνούμαι is 'not in Plato,' in view of the following: *Phil.* 46D (of inflammation of the skin), τῇ τρίψει δὲ καὶ τῇ κινήσει μὴ ἐφικνῆται τις. *Rep.* VI. 506E, πλέον γάρ μοι φαίνεται ἢ κατὰ τὴν παρούσαν ὁρμὴν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ γε δοκοῦντος ἐμοὶ τὰ νῦν. *Timaeus* 51B, καθ' ὅσον ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων δυνατὸν ἐφικνεῖσθαι τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ. The last two instances have the genitive, as here; and the meaning is also 'to get at,' 'to reach.'

287A: μὴ τι καλύω μιμούμενος. κωλύειν = to hinder, its usual sense. For the omission of the direct object see cp. *Gorgias* 458D, τό γ' ἐμὸν οὐδὲν κωλύει. μιμούμενος = εἰς μιμῶμαι.

The following are said to be colloquialisms which smack of the imitator:

285E: ἀληθὴ λέγεις is translated as 'undoubtedly, if you say so,' and condemned as unplatonic. But why not take it as 'You're right,' the usual sense? Socrates did not doubt Hippias' ability to remember fifty names once heard. Why should he?

286E: φαῦλον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἐμὸν πρᾶγμα. We have an exactly similar use of πρᾶγμα in *Crito* 53D. See Adam's note *ad loc.*

287D: ἀλλὰ τί μέλλει; Unusual; but we find exactly the same use in *Rep.* 349D, meaning 'Why is he hesitating?' 'What is his difficulty?'

287E: εὐδόξως ἀπεκρίνω. The adverb is not, as far as I know, found elsewhere in Plato. We find εὐδοξος in *Laus* 950C, 773A. Is it fanciful to see here a parody of Hippias' fondness for adverbs?

288D: συρφετός = rubbish. Used of a crowd in *Gorg.* 489C, συρφετὸς δούλων. I can find no other instance of its use as applying to a single person, but it is quoted by the Atticist Pollux as a synonym of ταπεινός, δύστηνος, εἰκαῖος (*Poll.* V. 163).

290A: τετυφωμένε. Although this word does not seem to occur elsewhere in Plato, it is used several times by Demosthenes. It may be a colloquialism. But what of the cognate ἐπιτύφομαι, also used once in Plato—namely, in *Phaedrus* 230A, where Socrates uses ἐπιτέθυμαι of himself in the same sense?

291A: φύρεσθαι πρὸς. Miss Tarrant compares *Laus* 950A. The word is often used by Plato in the sense of 'to mix,' a use not strictly parallel to that with πρὸς in this passage.

300C: οὐ κινδυνεύεις, ἀλλὰ πάνν ἐτοίμως παρορᾷς. ἐτοίμως is said to be unparalleled in this sense if we translate: 'Plainly enough you don't see straight.' The passage has puzzled commentators considerably, and Heindorf suggested ἐτύμως. But Stallbaum seems nearer the truth when he renders it 'sed de industria ueram rationem neglegis,' and adds 'nam ἐτοίμως = prompto paratoque animo.' We may perhaps see a reference to the literal sense of κινδυνεύειν, 'It is no danger which might take you unprepared, but you very readily and preparedly do not look straight.' Liddell and Scott compare ἐξ ἐτοίμου.

293A: βᾶλλ' ἐς μακαρίαν is condemned as too strong an imprecation for Plato. Note, however, that it is put in Hippias' mouth.

304A: κνίσματα καὶ περιτμήματα. These unusual words are also spoken by

Hippias. If they are colloquialisms, as is alleged, their use may intensify his contempt for the Socratic method.

The following expressions are condemned as philosophic jargon :

- 296D: τὸ δυνατόν τε καὶ χρησίμον ἀπλῶς εἶναι καλόν. In this sense of 'simply,' 'without qualifications,' ἀπλῶς is said to be unique. But the sense fits very well in *Phaedo* 100D: τοῦτο δὲ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀτέχνως καὶ ἴσως εὐήθως ἔχω παρ' ἐμαντῶ. Nor is it essentially different from *Laos* 909D: ἔστω γὰρ νόμος ὅδε τοῖς σύμπασι κείμενος ἀπλῶς. See also *Phil.* 50D; *Symp.* 182B, D; *Rep.* II. 381C. We often find ἀπλῶς οὕτως = 'exactly so.'
- 300C: λέξις λόγων. We have here an assonance of the kind which Hippias loved. The word λέξις is unusual, but is found in *Rep.* III. 400D of the style as against the matter of a discussion.
- 301B: κρούετε δὲ ἀπολαμβάνοντες. 'This sense of tapping in order to sound is not found in Plato.' It is at least alluded to in *Theaet.* 154E (in a battle of words): ἀλλήλων τοὺς λόγους τοῖς λόγοις ἐκρούομεν. We also find διακρούω in this sense in *Theaet.* 179D, and περικρούω in *Phil.* 55C; both of these seem to occur only once in Plato with this meaning.
- 303B: ἄρρητα, ῥητά—i.e. irrational and rational numbers. Socrates says that ἄρρητα may 'together' become either rational or irrational. To this it is objected that 'a number of ἄρρητα cannot, on the strict use of the words, become ῥητά by addition.' This is obviously true, but Plato is thinking of multiplication as much as of addition. συναμφοτέρα means 'in combination,' and may refer either to multiplication or addition (cp. αὔξησης in *Rep.* VIII. 546B, where see Adam's note). Irrational numbers may or may not become rational by multiplication.
- 303D: τῶν ἀδυνάτων τι παρέχεται is also a mathematical phrase, and admittedly correct.

A few epic words, one or two slightly unusual expressions, that is all we have left of the internal evidence against our dialogue; and we may emphatically repeat Ritter's verdict¹ on Ast's internal objections to Plato's authorship that no one will consider this conclusive evidence. As regards the more general question of style, let anyone read the *Hippias Maior* without prejudice, and then proceed to read some other early dialogue in the same spirit; I do not think he will find any material difference between the two.

3. *The Metaphysical Implications of the Dialogue.*—Stallbaum² saw in the *Hippias Maior* no trace of the theory of ideas; Dümmler³ says that 'the whole dialogue shows a thorough knowledge of the *Meno*, the *Phaedo*, and the *Symposium*'; the Budé editor⁴ agrees with Stallbaum; whereas Miss Tarrant⁵ goes so far as to suggest 'that we have in the *Hippias Maior* an exercise upon various of the logico-metaphysical terms of the *Phaedo*, bringing its ontology to a *reductio ad absurdum*, and believes, as Röllig⁶ did, that the author was 'a young student of the Academy.'

I do not believe that the Academy was founded when our dialogue was

¹ Ritter, *Unters. über Plato* (1888), p. 97.

² Stallbaum, Vol. IV., p. 158: 'sed de his (i.e. the theory of ideas) nunc non est dicendi locus,' etc.

³ *Akademica*, p. 55.

⁴ Budé, *Platon*, Vol. II., p. 5: 'la théorie des idées n'a rien à voir ici.'

⁵ *Journ. of Philol.* XXXV. On the other hand M. Dupréel says (*La légende socratique et les sources de Platon*, p. 190): 'C'est une défense de la théorie des idées qui fait l'objet du *Grand Hippias*' (see also p. 199).

⁶ *Wiener Studien*, 1900.

written; nor that, even if it had been, any young student would be bold enough to attempt a *reductio ad absurdum* of the *Phaedo* terminology; nor, lastly, that he could have succeeded in concealing his purpose so successfully.

Let us examine all expressions that might be understood to carry a metaphysical meaning, we shall then see that identical, or at least similar, expressions can be found in most of the early works of Plato that are now generally recognized to be genuine.

Hippias Maior:

286D, cp. 295A and C: τί ἐστὶ τὸ καλόν, οἱ αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν, τί ἐστίν.

287C: δικαιοσύνη δίκαιοι οἱ δίκαιοι.
σοφία οἱ σοφοί εἰσι σοφοὶ καὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ πάντα τὰγαθὰ ἀγαθὰ.
καὶ τὰ καλὰ πάντα τῷ καλῷ ἐστὶ καλὰ.

287D: τῷ καλῷ . . . ὄντι γέ τι τοῦτῳ.

289D: αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν, ᾧ καὶ τὰλλα πάντα κοσμεῖται καὶ καλὰ φαίνεται,
ἐπειδὴν προσγένηται ἐκείνῳ τὸ εἶδος.

292D: τὸ καλὸν αὐτὸ ἡρώτων, ὃ παντὶ ᾧ ἂν προσγένηται ὑπάρχει ἐκείνῳ
καλῷ εἶναι.

293E: ἡ φύσις αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρέποντος.

294B and D: τὸ ποιοῦν εἶναι καλὰ, κ.τ.λ.

300B: τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο, ὃ καὶ ἀμφοτέραις αὐταῖς ἔπεστι κοινῇ καὶ ἑκατέρᾳ ἰδίᾳ.

Compare with these expressions the following, taken from other early dialogues:

Laches 191E:

πειρῶ εἰπεῖν ἀνδρείαν πρῶτον τί ὃν ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ταυτόν ἐστιν.

Lysis 219-220, in which the following phrases occur amongst others:

ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ὃ ἐστὶν πρῶτον φίλον, οὗ ἔνεκα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φαμέν πάντα φίλα
εἶναι (219C).

τὰλλα πάντα ἃ εἶπομεν ἐκείνου ἔνεκα φίλα εἶναι, ὥσπερ εἶδωλα ἅττα
ὄντα αὐτοῦ (219D).

φίλον δὲ τῷ ὄντι κινδυνεύει ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸ εἶναι, εἰς ὃ πᾶσαι αὐταὶ αἱ
λεγόμεναι φιλῖαι τελευτῶσιν.

τό γε τῷ ὄντι φίλον κ.τ.λ. (220B).

Euthyphro 6D, E:

ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος ᾧ πάντα τὰ ὅσια ὁσιά ἐστιν; ἔφησθα γάρ που
μία ἰδέα τὰ τε ἀνόσια ἀνόσια εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὅσια ὅσια.

ταύτην τοίνυν με αὐτὴν δίδαξον τὴν ἰδέαν τίς ποτέ ἐστιν, ἵνα εἰς ἐκείνην
ἀποβλέπων καὶ χρώμενος αὐτῇ παραδείγματι, ὃ μὲν ἂν τοιοῦτον ᾗ ὃν
ἂν ᾗ σὺ ἢ ἄλλος τις πράττη φῶ ὅσιον εἶναι, ὃ δ' ἂν μὴ τοιοῦτον,
μὴ φῶ.

Note then that the use of the dative in *Hippias Maior* 287C, which Miss Tarrant tells us is 'clearly the language of the *Phaedo* 100D, E,' is also found in the *Euthyphro*.

Nor have we in our dialogue anything so definite, or implying so much, as the last passage quoted from the same work.

But even this means no more than that Socrates wishes to find a definition which will apply to all cases.¹ It is true that *Laches*² is told in so many words

¹ So Lutoslawski rightly takes it (*Growth and Development of Plato's Logic*, p. 199).

² 192A: τί ποτ' ἐστίν, ὃ καὶ ἐν τῷ τρέχειν
τυγχάνει ὄν, κ.τ.λ.

that the universal is to be found in the particulars, but that was the natural place to look for it, and Hippias is not told to look anywhere else.

Miss Tarrant also remarks on the unusual use of *ἐκεῖνος* in 292D (quoted above) to indicate the particular instead of the universal; but surely *ἐκεῖνος* is merely the grammatical antecedent of the relative, and has no particular significance.

There is not a single metaphysical expression in the *Hippias Maior* that goes beyond what is ordinarily found in the other early dialogues. No doubt there are many verbal similarities with later works, but an unprejudiced reader of the *Phaedo* and the *Symposium*, not to mention others, cannot but feel that *αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν . . . εἰλικρινές, καθαρὸν, ἄμικτον . . . αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον καλόν* of the *Symposium* (211D) exists in a different world of thought altogether.¹

In its simpler form of a search for a definition, for a *κοινόν* corresponding exactly to the quality expressed by a predicate, the theory of ideas is implied in all the dialogues of Plato, even the earliest. At what time exactly the ideas began to be conceived of as having a separate existence of their own Plato himself would probably not have cared to say, for it must have been a gradual development, without any sudden change either in thought or in vocabulary.

Words like *εἶδος*, *ιδέα* were in use long before the theory of ideas was ever thought of, and their general meaning seems to have been 'form' or 'kind.'² It was only after repeated use by Socrates and Plato, not at first in any specialized sense, that *εἶδος* acquired its abstract sense of a Platonic 'idea.'³ We must, therefore, not make the earlier instances of the words carry a meaning which was not acquired till later. Indeed, a good deal of the obscurity found in the *Hippias*, especially in the passage 300-303, is due to the fact that the writer was not able to make use of the later ideological terminology; and we find the words *εἶδος*, *οὐσία*, *πάθος*, used vaguely, and almost synonymously, to express a whole, because Plato is creating his vocabulary as he proceeds. I cannot imagine that Plato, or any writer with enough ability to write the *Hippias Maior*, would have written in this loose manner had he been 'thoroughly acquainted' with the *Phaedo*, the *Meno*, and the *Symposium*, not to mention the *Sophist* and the *Philebus* and the *Politicus*.

Quite the contrary. All the 'logico-metaphysical' expressions used in our dialogue lead us to the conclusion that it cannot have been written after any of these, and that it implies the theory of ideas just as much, and just as little, as any other early dialogue.

3. *The two Hippias Dialogues*.—We saw that Aristotle refers to the *Hippias Minor*, without however saying that Plato was the author;⁴ while there is an

¹ Contrast also *Gorg.* 459D with such passages as *Rep.* 475 sqq., *Phil.* 15A.

² See Taylor, *Varia Socratica*, ch. 5; C. M. Gillespie in the *Glass. Quart.*, July, 1912; also Ritter, *Neue Untersuch. ü. Platon*, pp. 228-326.

³ *ιδέα* clearly refers to bodily stature in *Euthy.* 6E, and *Charm.* 157D: λέγω μέντοι σοι ὅτι

Χαρμίδης τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν οὐ μόνον τῇ ιδέᾳ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν. So also αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτά cannot mean anything more than 'taken by themselves' in *Lysis* 220C. As O. W. Holmes would say, the words had not yet become 'polarized.'

⁴ *Metaph.* 1025a, quoted above, p. 135.

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equally clear but unacknowledged reference to the longer *Hippias* in the *Topica*.¹ But even so, the *Hippias Minor* has hitherto been regarded as better authenticated; and Apelt² attempts to prove the authenticity of the *Maior* by contending that the two works stand or fall together.

The *Hippias Minor*, like the *Hippias Maior*, has two subjects. It is partly meant to show that Hippias understands nothing of the Socratic method, for his statement that Achilles is better than Odysseus is hopelessly refuted. To do this Socrates makes use of an interesting argument: ὁ σοφός, the expert, who is admittedly good and true, ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀληθής, is also proved to be the most wicked man and the best liar, since he who possesses knowledge of the good must also possess knowledge of its opposite, evil. He who can do anything best also knows how to do it worst, and the best sinner is he who sins on purpose. He who sins willingly, ἔκων ἀμαρτάνων, is better than he who sins unwillingly, so that the willing sinner and the good man are identical, at least if anyone does sin purposely, εἴπερ τις ἐστὶν οὗτος (376B). The conclusion of the dialogue is, or seems to be, that a knave is better than a fool. But we know that Socrates does not believe this³ because he does not believe that there is such a thing as a knave—i.e. that anyone sins willingly. We have here a proof *per absurdum* that sin is but ignorance, for it is the only way out of the dilemma that the good man is also the worst.

The question of the willing sin is frequently discussed by Plato, as is the statement here made that knowledge of a thing implies knowledge of its opposite.⁴

The *Hippias Minor* leaves us then with the paradox that the good man (who is also the bad man, if indeed anyone sins willingly) is he who has the power and knowledge (for the two are admitted to be the same) to do both good and evil. But it nowhere tells us that this indiscriminate power is καλόν. On the contrary, we are told quite clearly in 376A: τὸ μὲν γε ἀδικεῖν κακὰ ποιεῖν ἐστίν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖν καλόν.⁵ And what of the identity of Good and Beauty that is made so much of in other dialogues? That is just the absurdity of the position.

The passage in the *Hippias Maior* (296D), where not all δύναμις but only τὸ χρήσιμόν τε καὶ τὸ δυνατόν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν τι ποιῆσαι is τὸ καλόν, is then only a restatement of what is said in the shorter dialogue where the adjective καλόν is also restricted to that kind of δύναμις or σοφία. Therefore when Apelt says that the conscience of Plato was uneasy because of the conclusions of the *Hippias Minor*, and thought it advisable to write another conversation and also to call it *Hippias*, in order to placate this uneasiness, he is talking nonsense, and that for three reasons: first, because neither Plato nor Socrates had any conscientious scruples in dialectical argumentation as long as the

¹ 146a 21, see p. 135, above.

² *Platonische Aufsätze*, pp. 222 sqq.

³ The key to the puzzle is to be found in 374c, Δέξαιο δ' ἂν πότερον τάχαθ' ἀκεκτῆσθαι κ.τ.λ., for Socrates would maintain that just as one would prefer to possess good, so one will also prefer to

do it. He makes this clear also in 376B: εἴπερ τις ἐστὶν οὗτος.

⁴ *Phaedo* 97D; *Ion* 532B; *Charm.* 166A; *Rep.* I. 334A (and Adam's note *ad loc.*).

⁵ Also 375E, etc.

argument was sound; secondly, because, even if they had, they were not likely to be disturbed by what is obviously a *reductio ad absurdum* of Hippias' position; and lastly, because the *Hippias Maior* only repeats what has been said in the *Hippias Minor*.

There are many other points of contact between the two dialogues. Hippias sings his own praises, with small variations, in both. The same fundamental objections are brought against the Socratic method (cp. *Hipp. Minor* 369 B-C with *Hipp. Maior* 301B). Although our dialogue is more racy in its caricature of the sophist, Socrates' attitude to him is essentially the same (cp. *Hipp. Mai.* 304B and *Hipp. Min.* 364A); but I do not think there is much force in Apelt's other argument that the two sketches of Hippias are complementary, for it is not strictly true, and in any case if Plato would vary the picture, so would an imitator.

From these considerations I conclude that, although cross-references are possible, they are not in any way certain, and that our dialogue can very well stand by itself.

4. *Hippias Maior* and *Gorgias* 474 D-E.—Stallbaum¹ first pointed out the similarity between these passages. In the *Gorgias* we are told that Beauty is due either to usefulness or to pleasure. I will quote at length:

ΕΩ: Τί δὲ τόδε; τὰ καλὰ πάντα, οἶον καὶ σώματα καὶ χρώματα καὶ σχήματα καὶ φωνὰς καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα, εἰς οὐδὲν ἀποβλέπων καλεῖς ἐκάστοτε καλὰ; οἶον πρῶτον τὰ σώματα τὰ καλὰ οὐχὶ ἤτοι κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν λέγεις καλὰ εἶναι, πρὸς δ' ἂν ἕκαστον χρήσιμον ᾖ, πρὸς τοῦτο, ἢ κατὰ ἡδονὴν τινα, ἐὰν ἐν τῷ θεωρεῖσθαι χαίρειν ποιῇ τοὺς θεωροῦντας; ἔχεις τι ἐκτὸς τούτων λέγειν περὶ σώματος κάλλους;

ΠΩΛΟΣ: οὐκ ἔχω.

ΣΩ: οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰλλα πάντα οὕτω καὶ σχήματα καὶ χρώματα ἢ διὰ ἡδονὴν τινα ἢ διὰ ὠφελείαν ἢ δι' ἀμφοτέρα καλὰ προσαγορεύεις;

ΠΩΛ: Ἐγώ γε.

ΕΩ: οὐ καὶ τὰς φωνὰς καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν μουσικὴν πάντα ὡσαύτως;

ΠΩΛ: Ναί.

ΣΩ: καὶ μὴν τά γε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐ δὴ πού ἐκτὸς τούτων ἐστίν, τὰ καλὰ, τοῦ ἢ ὠφέλιμα εἶναι ἢ ἡδέα ἢ ἀμφοτέρα.

ΠΩΛ: οὐκ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

ΣΩ: οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ τῶν μαθημάτων κάλλος ὡσαύτως;

ΠΩΛ: Πάνυ γε· καὶ καλῶς γε νῦν ὀρίζει, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡδονὴ τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ ὀριζόμενος τὸ καλόν.²

Anyone at all familiar with the *Hippias Maior* will at once recognize many of its expressions and ideas here.³

Now both Röhlig⁴ and Horneffer try to prove that the *Hippias Maior* was

¹ Stallbaum, *Platonis opera* (1832), Vol. IV., p. 157.

² Note that Polus takes ὠφέλιμον = ἀγαθόν for granted here.

³ Especially 295D, E; and 296D, E; see also 298A.

⁴ In his article 'Zum Hippias Major' in *Wiener Studien*, July, 1900, where he reviews a tract of Horneffer, 'De Hippias Majore.' This I regret to say I have failed to get hold of, but Röhlig's review is very full, and I do not think it unfair to base my criticism on his.

written by an imitator who misunderstood the *Gorgias*. We see that all the examples given in that dialogue are beautiful either because they are useful or because they are pleasant to the spectator, but we are not told which reason applies in any particular case. It is clear, however, that the last three, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, τὰ μαθήματα, owe their beauty to the first reason.

In the *Hippias Maior* 295c all these examples are quoted as beautiful because χρήσιμα. This, according to Horneffer, is bad copying, for some of them belong to the ἡδονή class. It is, as Röllig saw, nothing of the sort. In the *Gorgias* Beauty is reduced to two ideas (which were not novel, but common Greek conceptions). This account of Beauty was not a sound Socratic definition, as we are distinctly told in the *Hippias*¹ that a definition should give the one common ground of beauty. These two conceptions, χρήσιμον and ἡδύ, hastily thrown together in the longer dialogue in order to prove Polus in the wrong, are now carefully weighed to see if either can be made to account for all beauty. All the examples of the *Gorgias* must therefore be accounted for under each head separately.

Τὸ χρήσιμον is taken first (295D-297D), and, even in its refined form of τὸ ὠφέλιμον, is rejected. We then proceed to examine if perchance the second cause of beauty given in the *Gorgias* is not what we are searching for. We find there κατὰ ἡδονήν τινα, ἐὰν ἐν τῷ θεωρεῖσθαι χαίρειν ποιῇ τοὺς θεωροῦντας. This is now more clearly and fully defined as τὸ δι' ὀφείας καὶ ἀκοῆς ἡδύ. This again must account for all particular beautiful things if it is to be a satisfactory definition.

Röllig² now objects that the question, 'Can beautiful laws and customs be accounted for under this head?' is allowed to drop in 298D: ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους τε καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τάχ' ἂν φανείη οὐκ ἐκτὸς ὄντα τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἢ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς τε καὶ ὀφείας ἡμῖν οὕσα τυγχάνει, ἀλλ' ὑπομείνωμεν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, τὸ δὲ διὰ τούτων ἡδὺ καλὸν εἶναι, μηδὲν τὸ τῶν νόμων εἰς μέσον παράγοντες. But this is not really the case. There are two difficulties which Socrates sees in this last definition:

(a) Can νόμοι and ἐπιτηδεύματα be included?

(b) What is the one notion underlying these two kinds of pleasure which justifies our applying the predicate καλόν to them?

No doubt these problems might have been dealt with in this order. Plato might have said that we do ultimately become aware of laws and customs through the sense of sight and hearing. But he cannot really settle whether these things are to be included under the head of 'beautiful pleasures' until he has satisfactorily defined what beautiful pleasures are. And this he tries to do by dealing with the second difficulty first. As he never does overcome it, he is not called upon to go back to difficulty (a), the last definition being proved unsatisfactory in any case. Had he dealt with (a) first and failed to overcome it he could not have dealt with the second difficulty, and would

¹ See 300a sqq.

² L.c.

not have given us the interesting and suggestive discussion that occupies the rest of the dialogue to the concluding words.

This is perfectly clear, justified, and well constructed.

Calling attention to *Gorgias* 499B sqq.,¹ where Callicles at last admits that some pleasures are good, some bad, and that pleasurable things should be done for the sake of good, not good things for the sake of pleasure, Röllig says that the author of the *Hippias Maior* reasoned from this as follows:

The beautiful is the pleasure of eye and ear.

There are good and bad pleasures.

If a pleasure be beautiful, it must obviously allow itself to be identified with good, and be a *ἡδονὴ ὠφέλιμος*.

It follows that the pleasure of eye and ear must be a good (useful) pleasure in order to be called the beautiful.

Even if this were so, I do not see that the author cannot be Plato. But I suspect that the writer of our dialogue had the *Gorgias* on the brain a good deal less than Röllig had. Any of these thoughts except the first were commonplace enough among the Socratics. If, as I believe, the author was Plato, the general agreement between the two dialogues is as natural as the difference in wording. Plato must have discussed Pleasure and Good and meditated upon their relation to each other times without number, and he would naturally use the same examples.

The *Gorgias* and the *Hippias Maior* undoubtedly belong to the earlier part of Plato's life as a writer. This is clear from the style, the dramatic interest, and the absence of a clear-cut theory of ideas. Doubtless the two dialogues may be independent of each other, but only in so far as two works of the same author can ever be independent. It seems probable that the shorter work is the later of the two, and that when Plato wrote it he had in mind the definition of beauty and the division of pleasures given in the *Gorgias*, and subjected them to a more thorough examination. But I do not think that he would trouble about the exact wording of the *Gorgias* passages, for it was of no importance.

5. *The Hippias Maior, Parmenides, and Philebus*.—It is easy to attach too much importance to casual similarities between any two dialogues. Thus Miss Tarrant suggests that the likeness between the terminology of our dialogue and of the first part of the *Parmenides* shows that the *Hippias Maior*, written by a pupil of Plato to criticize the doctrine of ideas as explained in the *Phaedo*, may have caused Plato to reconsider his position in the *Parmenides*. I hope to have proved, when dealing with the metaphysical expressions found in the *Hippias Maior*, that they do not imply any clearly understood theory of ideas at all. But apart from that, I think it extremely unlikely that the *Parmenides*, an altogether later dialogue, could be accounted for by such very thin criticism as the *Hippias* contains even on Miss Tarrant's own showing.²

¹ ὥς δὴ σὺ οἶε ἐμὲ ἢ καὶ ἄλλον ὀντινοῦν ἀνθρώπων οὐχ ἡγεῖσθαι τὰς μὲν βελτίους ἡδονάς, τὰς δὲ χείρους.

Cp. 500A: τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἕνεκα δεῖ καὶ τὰλλα καὶ τὰ ἡδέα πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰγαθὰ τῶν ἡδέων.

² I believe that Plato possessed to a very great

extent the power of self-criticism and that the *Parmenides*, presenting as it does the difficulties and obstacles to the theory of ideas, does not necessarily imply any change in Plato's attitude to the theory.

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The *Philebus*,¹ too, is a later work. We have there a far keener and fuller analysis of pleasure and a more advanced view of beauty, which we see to be a natural development of the aesthetic reflections of the *Hippias Maior*. The two dialogues obviously, for this and many other reasons, belong to different periods of Plato's life.

6. *Conclusion*.—To sum up: The *Hippias Maior* is all but quoted by Aristotle, who is obviously borrowing from it. The internal evidence against its genuineness when carefully examined comes to nothing. Whatever may be thought of the *Hippias Maior* our dialogue can pass the test of authenticity on its own merits. It contains passages akin to certain thoughts of the *Gorgias* which would suggest an earlier date for that dialogue. It has no direct connexion with the *Parmenides*, but the ideas it contains are more fully developed in the *Philebus* and elsewhere. It is very Platonic, and there is no reason why it should not have been written by Plato. The confused and sometimes obscure terminology proves that it could not have been written by an intelligent man after reading the *Philebus* and the *Sophist*.

NOTE ON *HIPPIAS MAIOR* 301B.

301B: διὰ ταῦτα οὕτω μεγάλα ὑμᾶς λανθάνει καὶ διανεκῇ σώματα τῆς οὐσίας πεφυκότα.

This sentence has puzzled commentators considerably. The key to its construction is to be found in καί, the emphatic position of which has hitherto been overlooked. Construe: διὰ ταῦτα οὕτω μεγάλα σώματα τῆς οὐσίας λανθάνει ὑμᾶς καὶ διανεκῇ πεφυκότα—'Therefore you fail to perceive that such large bodies of being are also by nature continuous.'

This practically repeats the argument of the previous sentence, as it undoubtedly should. σώματα τῆς οὐσίας are the same as τὰ ὅλα τῶν πραγμάτων above; it is rather a queer expression, and the meaning is not clear, but we should remember that Hippias is probably purposely represented as obscure. He is camouflaging his ignorance with big words that mean very little. We may perhaps see here a quotation (or a parody?) of a passage from one of the sophist's works. But I do not believe that Hippias is putting forward a deeply thought-out theory of nature, although he doubtless thinks it deep enough. Nor is some rival school of thinkers made to speak through him, for in either case he would express himself more clearly and probably more at length. The emphasis is entirely on the words μεγάλα and διανεκῇ, as is proved by their prominent position, and Hippias wishes to impress them on Socrates as against his petty and endless 'splitting up.'

Grote says we have 'the logical term concrete opposite to abstract' (*Plato*, Vol. I., 384-5). If so Hippias was not, could not be, aware of the fact. Nor does Grote give us any hint about the construction. G. Smith² translates διανεκῇ as 'continuous and concrete'; the two meanings could hardly be

¹ For a full and interesting comparison of the *Philebus*, *Gorgias*, and *Hippias Maior*, see Röllig's table, *l.c.*

² In his edition of the dialogue (1893).

conveyed by one word. He takes *σώματα τῆς οὐσίας* as 'objects as they exist in nature,' but that requires the article. Miss Tarrant proposes to insert *τά* after *σώματα*, and takes *τὰ τῆς οὐσίας* to mean 'the sum of all that exists.' Her construction *τὰ τῆς οὐσίας λανθάνει ὑμᾶς μεγάλα καὶ διανεκῇ σώματα πεφυκότα*, and translation 'you do not perceive that nature consists of such great and continuous bodies,' carries no conviction (*Journ. of Philol.* XXXV.). I do not think *τὰ τῆς οὐσίας* an improvement.

Even such drastic emendations as Apelt's *σχήματα* for *σώματα* (*Plat. Auffs.* 231, note 2) do not make things better as long as we insist on taking *μεγάλα καὶ διανεκῇ* together.

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THE FILIATION OF AESTHETIC IDEAS IN THE NEOPLATONIC SCHOOL.

THE famous passage (*Enn.* V. 8. 1) in which Plotinus declares that fine art, so far from simply reproducing nature, 'goes back to the Reason-principles from which nature herself emanates,' has hitherto been generally regarded as a tacit criticism of Plato's teaching, and as an original contribution to the philosophy of art involving a rupture with the entire previous tradition of Greek aesthetic theory.¹ Yet Plotinus introduces it, not as if he were proclaiming a new gospel, but almost casually, as a subordinate link in his discussion of Intelligible Beauty. And though his respect for Plato was not the half-superstitious reverence of the later Neoplatonists, he was at all times more zealous to walk in Plato's footsteps than to correct or criticize him, tacitly or otherwise. Moreover, can it be said with certainty that his doctrine is in itself opposed to Plato's? That question can be answered only by a detailed examination of Plato's theory of art—a task which I hope to accomplish elsewhere. In the present article, postponing all enquiry into the relation between these two aesthetic theories, I shall endeavour to show that the teaching of Plotinus was not a sudden innovation, but the natural and indeed inevitable outcome of preceding thought.

Plato had been obliged to lay great stress, in his discussion of the metaphysical import of art, upon the incompatibility of Homer's old mythology

¹ Cf. Bosanquet, *History of Aesthetic*, p. 114; 214-5, 246; Dodds, *Select Passages illustrating Inge, The Philosophy of Plotinus*, Vol. II., pp. Neo-platonism, p. 104; etc.

with a religion which had now passed beyond the primitive anthropomorphic stage. It was upon this problem that the debate excited by his criticisms gradually concentrated itself. Πάντη γὰρ ἡσέβησεν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἡλληγόρησεν, says Heraclides of Homer: unless the national epics of Greece are blasphemy from start to finish, which is inconceivable, they must be understood as allegories. Here, in the recourse to allegorization, condemned in advance by Plato, lay a simple though completely unhistorical escape from the dilemma which now perplexed so many consciences. Given the licence proper to this method, it was easy to extract all the conclusions of a mature philosophy from those early poems and, by a natural inference, to blame philosophy for not acknowledging its debt. It was in vain that Plutarch, who himself used allegory in the interpretation of Egyptian myths, protested against it when applied to Homer, and would have no moral lessons drawn from poetry save those inherent in the logic of a poet's theme. Already the Stoic school was busy transforming the gods of Olympus into mere personifications of natural forces and explaining their traditional names and attributes by those absurd etymologies of which the treatise of Cornutus *De Natura Deorum* is a complete encyclopaedia. Doubtless it was this labour of Cornutus and his fellow-Stoics which inspired Telephus, the Pergamene grammarian and tutor of the Emperor Verus, to compose his thesis *On the Harmony between Plato and Homer*.¹

A turning-point in this process of accommodation between new beliefs and old mythology was reached in the Platonic revival inaugurated by Numenius of Apamea, when Stoic allegorization gave place to a reasoned theory of symbolism. The Neoplatonists had read in their *Timaeus*² that material nature is an expression of ideas conceived in the divine mind; and on this foundation they built up a theory, half metaphysical, half mystical, akin to the doctrine of 'correspondences' afterwards taught by the medieval alchemists. The world itself, they held, might be described as a myth³ or symbolic poem, wherein each thing perceptible to sense contains within itself, potentially at least, a revelation of some spiritual truth or essence. And if inanimate things have this capacity of symbolic meaning, how much more the utterances of inspired poets? Thus to the interpretation of these last the new school brought a theory of expression which not only led, in Porphyry's hands, to a genuinely critical study of religious symbolism, but also paved the way for a profounder understanding of the relation between form and content in a work of art. For symbols are understood to be the natural and appropriate, if not inevitable, expression of what they symbolize, whereas in allegory the meaning is translated into terms which may be parallel with it, but which are always in a measure arbitrary.

Of the writings of Numenius, Moderatus, Cronius, Nicomachus and the other philosophers who built up this new symbology, only a few scattered fragments now remain. It is, however, certain that the method was thoroughly established by the time of Ammonius Saccas, the second founder of the school,

¹ Suidas, s.v. Telephus.

² 28-29b.

³ Sallust, *de Diis et Mundo*, c. 3.

for Origen was one of his disciples, and it was Origen who transferred it to the interpretation of the Hebrew scriptures, to the great scandal of his pagan critics, and especially of Porphyry, who denounces him for having enlisted a peculiarly Greek doctrine on the side of the barbarians.¹ In his commentaries the thesis that all sensible things are symbols of divine ideas is stated in its exact Neoplatonic form as justifying a symbolical explanation of the inspired writings.² To elaborate this view of poetry, which, however faulty, was at least an improvement on the old idea of imitation, and to infer from it that poetry and the fine arts generally are not mere inexpressive copies of the external world but, like the world itself, a revelation of eternal essences, was a step which, after this, could not be long delayed.

In its bearing on psychology, the inference was drawn by Philostratus, who pointed out that not *μίμησις* but *φαντασία* is the parent-faculty of the fine arts.³ His formulation of a truth so obvious to modern minds gave the death-stroke to a psychological account of art which Plato had viewed with deep suspicion, but which had so far held its ground thanks to the support of Aristotle.⁴ It was reserved for Plotinus to make the necessary metaphysical adjustment. Yet when his friend Amelius desired to have a portrait of the master painted here refused, saying: "Is it not enough to carry about this image in which nature has enclosed us? Must I also consent to leave, as a desirable spectacle for posterity, a more lasting image of the image?"⁵ The objection proves his loyalty to Plato, even though it betrays an imperfect understanding of Plato's argument in the tenth book of the *Republic*. But by 263, when Porphyry came to Rome, Plotinus had gained a clearer insight into the nature of art, for soon afterwards he enthusiastically praised a symbolic poem on the *Sacred Marriage* between Zeus and the Eternal Wisdom which Porphyry had composed for the festival of Plato's birthday,⁶ and presently wrote his own tractate *On Intelligible Beauty*, in which his former notion that art can produce no more than *εἰδῶλον εἰδῶλου* is finally abandoned.

This revolution in his ideas may have been due solely to his own reflection and a closer study of the Platonic text, but there are grounds for believing that it was at least helped forward by external influences, and particularly by that of his fellow-Platonist, the pagan Origen, who like his Christian namesake and Plotinus himself had been a pupil of Ammonius Saccas. For this lesser Origen Plotinus had a deep respect,⁷ and Longinus, in a passage which Porphyry reproduces *in extenso*, speaks of him as one of the profoundest intellects of the time.⁸ His preoccupation with poetic problems is well attested, for Proclus gives us an amusing record of the excitement with which on one occasion he debated with Longinus on Plato's attitude towards Homeric poetry: *τριῶν ὅλων ἡμερῶν διατελέσαι τὸν Ὀριγένη βοῶντα καὶ ἐρυθριῶντα καὶ ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ κατεχόμενον, μεγάλην εἶναι λέγοντα τὴν ὑπόθεσιν*

¹ Eusebius, *H.E.* VI. 19.

² *Homiliae in Canticum Canticorum*: Migne, P.G., Vol. XIII., cc. 172-175.

³ *Life of Apollonius*, VI. 19.

⁴ *Poetics*, c. 4.

⁵ Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus*, c. 1.

⁶ *Ib.*, c. 15.

⁷ *Ib.*, c. 20.

⁸ *Ib.*, c. 14.

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καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν.¹ We are told, further, that although like all the pupils of Ammonius he had vowed to keep their master's doctrine secret, he followed the example already given by Herennius and broke the vow by publishing a treatise *περὶ τῶν δαιμόνων* and a thesis *ὅτι μόνος ποιητὴς ὁ βασιλεύς*: 'the king alone is poet,' which if M. Émile Bréhier, the latest commentator on the *Enneads*, is right in his conjecture, dealt with questions of demoniacal and poetic inspiration.² According to Porphyry this work was published 'in the reign of Gallienus,' that is to say, at some time after 253, when Gallienus shared the throne with Valerian, and before 268, when Claudius II. succeeded to the empire. The treatise *περὶ τῶν δαιμόνων* was an earlier work. Now Plotinus began writing in 253, and by the time of Porphyry's advent in 263 had written twenty-one treatises. His tractate *On Intelligible Beauty* was composed after this, during the five years of Porphyry's stay in Rome; and the debate between Origen and Longinus, at which Porphyry was present, must have occurred at the same period. Amelius had been a member of the circle since 246. A comparison of these dates makes it probable that the incident of the portrait took place at some point anterior to Porphyry's arrival, and that it was Origen who, by his oral discussions of poetic problems and by his written thesis, helped Plotinus to reach the modified conception of art which is formulated in the famous tractate. The absence of documentary proof leaves this a matter of conjecture: but whether or no the conjecture is well founded, it is indisputable that the imitative theory which made art a mere reduplication of the perceptible world was already dead when Plotinus began writing. Its rejection had been implicit in the symbology worked out before his time by several generations of eclectic thinkers; and Plotinus, in abandoning it once for all, was but completing their task.

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¹ Proclus, *Commentary on the Timaeus*, 20 D, ed. Diehl, Vol. I., p. 63.

² *Ennead I.*, ed. Bréhier, Paris, 1924, p. 4.

SOME NOTES ON PLOTINVS.

Ennead I. 4. 3: Plotinus is arguing that happiness is fullness and completeness of life, and continues, according to the MSS. (Volkman's edition, p. 66, l. 20), οὕτω γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ ἐπακτὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχοι, οὐδ' ἄλλο τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἀλλαχόθεν γενόμενον παρέξει αὐτὸ (or better αὐτῷ, Marc A and Müller) ἐν ἀγαθῷ εἶναι. Mr. MacKenna translates the last phrase by 'a life needing no foreign substance called in from a foreign realm to establish it in good'; Ficinus by 'neque aliud quicquam aliunde adueniens efficiet ut subiectum collocetur in bono.' Ficinus is undoubtedly right. τὸ ὑποκείμενον means 'the subject,' which a few lines above (p. 66, l. 4) has been identified with the λογικὴ ζωή. The passage should be corrected by writing τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, dependent on γενόμενον, for τὸ ὑποκείμενον.

Enn. I. 4. 8: ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔνδον φέγγος οἶον ἐν λαμπτήρι φῶς πολλοῦ ἔξωθεν πνέοντος ἐν πολλῇ ζάλῃ ἀνέμων (p. 72, l. 6). This beautiful image is marred by the absence of a verb. Kirchhoff and his successors, offended by καί, cast it out; but it should rather be treasured as the relic of a lost original, καίεται.

Enn. I. 8. 6: ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τὸ ψεῦδος τῷ ἀληθεῖ ἐναντίον καὶ τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν τῷ κατ' οὐσίαν αὐτοῖς (Kirchhoff for αὐτῆς) ἐναντίον (p. 106, l. 17). Kirchhoff did not complete the cure of this passage. A further change of one letter is required. For the extremely awkward κατὰ before τὸ ψεῦδος read καθά, 'as.'

Enn. I. 8. 8: Matter makes everything its own that comes to it, ὥστε ἐν τροφῇ ζῶν τὸ εἰσενεχθὲν μηκέτι εἶναι ὅπερ προσελήλυθεν, ἀλλ' αἶμα κυνὸς καὶ πᾶν κύνειον καὶ χυμοὶ πάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεξαμένου ἐκείνου (p. 108, l. 20). For the last four words Kirchhoff suggests and Müller prints ὅπερ τὸ δεξάμενον ἐκείνο; Bréhier conjectures ὥστε for ὑπὲρ, and gives an impossible translation. We should doubtless alter ὑπὲρ to οἷπερ: 'the food taken in . . . becomes all the juices belonging to that particular recipient.' A grammatical difficulty still remains. We must apparently supply something like ἡ ὕλη ποιεῖ to govern τὸ εἰσενεχθὲν μηκέτι εἶναι (see the context), and then understand τὸ εἰσενεχθὲν γίνεται with αἶμα κυνὸς κ.τ.λ.

Enn. II. 3. 12: Man is produced from the reason-principle of man, ἀλλ' ἐβλαψέ ποτε ἢ ὠφέλιγε τὸ (Volkman τὰ) ἔξω· ὁμοίως γὰρ τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον πολλακίς, ἔστι δ' ὅτε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον συνέπεσεν (p. 143, l. 10). This must mean, as Mr. MacKenna sees, that external circumstances, like the father, help or harm. But the sense required is that the child is like the father, though external circumstances may sometimes make him worse or better. Read therefore ὁμοίος γὰρ τῷ πατρί, and compare III. 1. 5, τοῖς γούν γονέυσιν ὅμοιοι (p. 221, l. 2), in a similar context.

Enn. II. 3. 14: Among influences producing physical strength Plotinus mentions γονεῖς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτα εἴ τις ἄρα τῶν τόπων ἔσχε τὰ οὐράνια καὶ ἡ γῆ (p. 145, l. 11). Müller and Volkman, following Vitringa, for ἔσχε read παρέσχε τι. Plotinus more probably wrote εἰ ἔσχε: 'if the locality was favourable, the climatic conditions and the soil would help.' Cp. χεῖρον ἔσχε and ἀσυμμέτρως ἔσχηκός just below (p. 146, ll. 6 and 9).

Enn. III. 1. 6: All creatures are produced by their own kinds, horse by horse, man by man; ἔστω δὲ συνεργὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ παντὸς φορὰ συγχωροῦσα τὸ πολὺ τοῖς γινομένοις (p. 222, l. 12): 'though the motion of the universe must co-operate, while allowing

the chief influence to the objects produced.' This is nonsense; while Mr. MacKenna's translation, 'a very powerful influence upon the thing brought into being,' assigns a wrong meaning to *συγχωρούσα τὸ πολὺ*. For τοῖς γινομένοις, therefore, read τοῖς γειναμένοις, 'the parents.' Cp. III. 8. 4 (p. 335, l. 3) τῶν γειναμένων (with v.l. γινομένων) and III. 5. 2 (p. 270, l. 29) ἡ γειναμένη. Ficinus was on the right track with his 'concedens tamen genitoribus genitisque quam plurimum.' Similarly in III. 1. 5 (p. 221, l. 2), where the context is much the same, παρὰ τῶν γειναμένων should be read for παρὰ τῶν γινομένων (γεννησάντων Vitringa, γονέων Volkmann).

Enn. III. 2. 17: In describing the drama of the universe Plotinus points out that the success of the performance depends upon each actor being set in his proper place and speaking the words appropriate to it, even though his part be only to 'curse in darkness and Tartarus.' He continues (p. 249, l. 17): καὶ τὸ ὅλον τοῦτο καλὸν οὐκ εἰ λίθος εἴη ἕκαστος, ἀλλ' εἰ τὸν φθόγον τὸν αὐτοῦ εἰσφερόμενος συντελοῖ εἰς μίαν ἁρμονίαν ζῶν καὶ αὐτὸς φωνῶν, ἐλάττω δὲ καὶ χείρω καὶ ἀτελεστέραν. But what is the point of saying 'this universe is good, not if the individual is a stone'? Plotinus, it is true, likes to contrast spiritual things with stones as examples of inanimate or extended objects, e.g. III. 1. 5 (p. 220, l. 24), ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν διδοὺς λίθοις φερομένοις καταλείπει εἶναι; VI. 2. 6 (p. 306, l. 12), ἡ λίθος (sc. ἡ ψυχὴ); VI. 5. 11 (p. 395, l. 27), ἐκείνη ἡ φύσις . . . οὐκ ἔστιν οἷα λίθος. Here, however, the contrast is entirely out of place. The meaning wanted is that the universal concert is good, 'not if each performer is a supreme artist, but if each one contributes to the *ensemble* his own life's utterance, however imperfect.' We need not look far for a supreme artist whose name might easily have been corrupted into *λίθος*. A change of one letter gives us *Λίνος*. Cp. Pausanias IX. 29. 6, and for a mention of him in Neo-Platonic literature, Iamblichus, *Vit. Pythag.* 139.

Enn. III. 6. 13: παραπλήσιον γίνεται οἷον καὶ εἰς τὸ κάτοπτρον ἐνορῶτο τὰ εἰδωλα (p. 301, l. 1). Kirchhoff and his successors alter ἐνορῶτο to ἐνορᾶται. But keep ἐνορῶτο and insert εἰ, which is badly needed, before εἰς. Just below, in III. 6. 14, δεῖ τὸ ἄλλο εἶναι ἔδραν παρέχον (p. 301, l. 31), τό is clearly wrong, and Volkmann excises it. For τό read τι, the need of which seems to be acutely felt by the translators.

Enn. III. 8. 8: νοῦς, which is an original unity become a plurality, ἐξείλιξεν αὐτὸν πάντα ἔχειν ἐθέλων, ὡς βέλτιον ἢν αὐτῷ μὴ ἐβελῆσαι τοῦτο, δεύτερον γὰρ ἐγένετο (p. 341, l. 9). ὡς makes no sense. Kirchhoff, followed by the other editors, for ὡς wrote εἰ καί, which gives the meaning, but is palaeographically an improbable alteration. Why should we not write ᾧ? There would still remain point in αὐτῷ. Had there been no unfolding of νοῦς, it might indeed have been better for νοῦς *itself*, which would not have been degraded into a secondary; but the world below νοῦς would never have existed at all. Just below, in the phrase βελτίω μὲν ὅθεν, χείρω δὲ εἰς ὃ (p. 341, l. 14), we should read εἰς ᾧ if it is desirable to make Plotinus write grammatically.

Enn. III. 8. 9: πρὸς ὃν δεῖ σημᾶναι ὅπως οἷόν τε, τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁμοίῳ φήσομεν (p. 342, l. 18). Kirchhoff and the rest alter πρὸς ὃν to πρὸς ὃ. But how did the ν come to exist? It represents an original εἰ, which indeed is needed to complete the construction of the sentence. Reading πρὸς ὃ εἰ, we get, 'if in reply to this question we must indicate how it is possible (sc. to grasp the One), we shall answer "by what is like it in ourselves."' For another case of the disappearance of εἰ see VI. 8. 2 (p. 480, l. 9), where I feel sure that εἴτα καὶ <εἰ> τις λογισμός should be read.

Enn. IV. 4. 28: Plotinus has argued in IV. 4. 20 that the causes of desire are ἡ μὲν αἰσθησις μαθοῦσα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἐγγύς, ἡν δὴ φύσιν φαμὲν τὴν δοῦσαν τὸ ἔχνος (p. 67, l. 5), i.e. sensation and the next grade of soul or pseudo-soul, called φύσις

which gives 'the vestige' of true soul to the body. Turning in IV. 4. 28 to the consideration of τὸ θυμοειδές, he asks whether it belongs to σώματι τῷ οἷον ζῶντι, or to a particular part of it, and also εἰ ἄλλον ὄντος τοῦ δίδόντος τὸ ἶχνος τὸ ψυχικὸν ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἐν τι τοῦτο ὁ θυμός, οὐκέτι παρὰ θυμικοῦ ἢ αἰσθητικοῦ (p. 76, l. 9), 'whether that which bestows the soul-trace is different, so that here we have this one distinct thing, θυμός, no longer deriving from the passionate or perceptive faculty.' ἢ before ἐνταῦθα is excised by Müller and Volkmann, but it doubtless conceals ἢν, a 'philosophical imperfect.' The real difficulty, however, lies in παρὰ θυμικοῦ. The suggestion that perhaps θυμός does not come from τὸ θυμικόν seems quite pointless here. ὁ θυμός τοῦ θυμικοῦ in I. 1. 5 (p. 43, l. 11) does not help us, as the context there is different. For θυμικοῦ we must substitute φυτικοῦ, which brings the passage into accord with c. 20 and the whole course of Plotinus' argument. For he does indeed hold that θυμός is derived from τὸ φυτικόν. See p. 76, l. 31, εἰς ταῦτά τις ὁρῶν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φυτικοῦ ὠρμήσθαι, sc. τὸν θυμὸν ἂν λέγοι (where he is referring to arguments which at first sight militate against his thesis); p. 77, l. 26, παρὰ τοῦ φυτικοῦ καὶ γεννητικοῦ ἄμφω γίνεσθαι (where ἄμφω probably means 'both kinds of anger,' though Ficinus renders by 'tam irascendi quam concupiscendi fomes'); and p. 78, l. 5, τὸ δὲ τὰ δένδρα μὴ ἔχειν θυμὸν καίπερ τὸ φυτικὸν ἔχοντα οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν κ.τ.λ.

In the same chapter (p. 77, l. 5) occurs a very puzzling passage, (ὅταν) τά τε θηρία πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις οὐδενὸς ἄλλον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δοκηθὲν λυμήνασθαι τὰς ὀργὰς ἔχωσι. Ficinus renders by 'item bruta ultra corporum compositiones ex eo duntaxat, quod aliquis laesurus appareat, prorumpunt in iram.' This implies πρὸς ταῖς κρίσεσι, which may be what Plotinus wrote, though it involves the awkwardness of taking τὰς ὀργὰς ἔχωσι first with the genitive and then with πρὸς and the accusative. I am inclined to believe, however, that Plotinus wrote πρὸς τὰς πράξεις οὐδενὸς ἄλλον, 'animals are not enraged at the doings of anyone else, but at the prospect of danger to themselves,' whereas human beings feel anger also ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν καὶ ἕτερός τις τῶν προσηγόντων (sc. πάσῃ) καὶ ὅλως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν τις παρὰ τὸ προσήκον ποιῇ (p. 76, l. 27).

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NOTES ON THE LEGEND OF ARISTOTLE.

I.

THAT Hermias, the despot of Atarneus, was a barbarian as alleged by Theopompus, fr. 242, Oxf., *Letter to Philip*, in Didymus in *Dem.*, col. 5, 24, has been denied by Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, p. 113 n., on the ground that in Aristotle's hymn and epigram he is put forward as a Hellene; cf. *ibid.*, p. 119, on Callisthenes and Hermias. In confirmation may be added that, had he been a barbarian, he could hardly have induced the Eleans to declare the Olympic truce to him as Theopompus says they did, Did. 5, 29. Demetrius the Magnesians, Diog. L. V. 3, said he was a Bithynian; and possibly Theopompus said the same in the defective passage in fr. 210, Did. 4, 69. He may have been in fact a Bithynian by place of birth, yet not by blood: at such Greeks the taunt 'barbarian' was readily cast; cf. *Birds* 1700 on Gorgias, and Aeschines on Demosthenes. But we may go much further in scepticism.

According to Hdt. VIII. 104-6 Hermotimus of Pedasa was captured in hostilities and sold to a Chian, Panionius, who made his living by castrating good-looking boys and selling them. Panionius so dealt with Hermotimus, who later on was chief of Xerxes' eunuchs. When Xerxes was on his way to Athens, some business took Hermotimus ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην τὴν Χίοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλεῖται, and there he met Panionius, greeted him as a benefactor, and promised to reward him: Herodotus then describes the vengeance taken. This story, which brings Hermotimus, eunuch and slave, into connexion with Atarneus, is probably the germ of the assertions that Hermias, despot of Atarneus, was a eunuch and a slave, which were made by Theocritus Chius in his vigorous, if obscene, epigram, and by Theopompus, fr. 210, *Phil.* XLVI., Did. 4, 69 ('eunuch') and 5, 9 ('bought with money'); cf. fr. 242, *Letter to Philip*, Did. 5, 25. These contemporaries of Hermias were Chians, and therefore hated Hermias (cf. Beloch, *Gr. Geschichte*³ III. i., p. 539, 1), for he had succeeded Eubulus (cf. *Pol.* 1267a 31) in possession of Atarneus, which had once belonged to the Chians, Hdt. I. 1., and I. 160; while Theopompus, Did. 5, 8, alleges that he treated with contumely very many Ionians.¹

Hence, in spite of the assertions of his contemporaries, Theocritus and Theopompus, to say nothing of the story in Demetr. *de Eloc.*, § 293,² it seems reasonable to suppose that the story of Hermias being eunuch and slave is just a *mendatiuncula* (to use the language of *de Or.* II. 59, 241) based on the story in Herodotus, the fiction being the easier because Hermias is short for such names as Hermotimus.

It may be remarked that if Hermias owed his degradation to Hermotimus who preceded him, he probably became an author thanks to Hermeias of Alexandria who lived so long after him. For his book "on the soul, that it is immortal," Suidas s.v. *Hermias*, can hardly be other than a replica of the asseveration of the Soul's immortality, quoted (from Damascius) by Suidas s.v. *Hermeias*, that Hermeias of Alexandria made to the dying Aegyptus.

¹ Add perhaps Isocrates' Epist. IX., *Archid.*, § 8 (about 356 B.C.).

² Grote's 'bodily hurt when a child,' *Aristotle* I., p. 6, seems due to confusion with Philaetærus, Str. 623.—When Aristippus, Diog. L. V. 3,

talks of a *παλαξίς* of Hermias, this is not incompatible with his alleged condition; see Burton, *Arabian Nights*, Vol. V. 46 n., and *Pilgrimage* II., c. 17, p. 157 (1855).

II.

The extract from Aristocles that Eusebius quotes, *Pr. Eu.* XV. c. 2,¹ mentions three charges against Aristotle in connexion with the elder Pythias—that he wrote tasteless poems about the marriage (Eubulides, § 5), that he sacrificed to her when she died as to Demeter (Lycon, § 8), and that he obtained her from Hermias as a reward for base services to the eunuch (§ 12).

To the last charge Aristocles opposes a Letter to Antipater (fr. 663, Rose) in which he says Aristotle declared that Hermias was dead when the marriage took place, and that his motive was, besides kindly feeling towards Hermias, regard for the distressed condition of Pythias and for her good character. But against even the later date for the marriage given in the Letter is that it is not late enough. According to the Will, D.L., § 12, the younger Pythias was not of marriageable age when Aristotle died. This youthfulness suggests that Aristotle did not marry till he settled down, or till just before—i.e. not till about 335. Now Ochus took Sidon in the summer of 345—so S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 148 (according to *J.H.S.*, 1924, p. 288)—and the fall² of Hermias cannot be more than two or three years later. Therefore, if Aristotle married Pythias in 336-5, he had taken a good many years to consider the matter; but the hypothesis of marriage at an earlier date with a still childish Pythias seems excluded by the Letter's remark on her virtue, which indicates that she was already grown up when Aristotle was with Hermias.

The Letter is best regarded as a fake to refute the hostile version of the marriage, which it plainly presupposes, else why was it written? And the whole story of relationship between Pythias and Hermias may have had no other foundation in fact than that Aristotle had come to Athens about 335 with a wife who was known to be from Asia Minor. When the author quoted Did. 5. 63 (Theop. fr. 242, Oxf.), says Hermias *οικειότατα δέκετο* towards Aristotle, he does not mean that he contracted affinity with Aristotle, but only that he was very friendly towards him. And it may be that, whatever Aristocles thought, the *οικειότης*, which was the subject of poems adduced by Eubulides, was not *κηδεία* but friendship only: on this friendship we have still the poem extolling Hermias and his 'stedfast friendship.' That the conventional story was at least so far true that Pythias did come from the neighbourhood of Atarneus is perhaps favoured by the assertion that her daughter's second husband was 'Procles, the descendant of Demaratus the Spartan King,' Sext. Empir. *Math.* I. 258, p. 657, Bekker. This Procles is evidently of the family ruling over Halisarna, near Atarneus, when Xenophon was in the neighbourhood, *Anab.* VII. 8, 17, cf. II. 1, 3; see also below on Herpyllis and her slave 'the Pyrrhaean.' But Pythias need not on that account have been the daughter or sister of Hermias; and if Proxenus was indeed an Atarnean as *Vita Marciana* alleges, she may have belonged to his family.

The passage relating to Eubulides needs, as it stands in Dindorf's text of Eusebius, a little alteration. Comparing D.L. X. 3: *ἐπιστολὰς φέρων πενήτηκοντα ἀσελγείς ὡς Ἐπικούρου*, read *Εὐβουλίδης . . . ψεύδεται, πρῶτον μὲν ποιήματα ψυχρὰ προφερόμενος ὡς <Ἀριστοτέλους>, γεγραφότων ἄλλων, περὶ τοῦ γάμου καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἐρμίαν οἰκειότητος αὐτῷ γεγονυίας*. If a suggestion made above be correct, these poems were (1) poems on the marriage with Pythias and (2) poems on the friendship with Hermias. However that may be, the poems on the marriage, though Aristocles speaks ill of them, may have been genuine; for that the relations between Aristotle and Pythias were unusually affectionate for Greeks is shown by her direction that she should be buried near him, and by his mention of her desire in his Will, § 16.

Similarly the charge brought by Lycon, though at first sight amazing, may also

¹ With the general structure of this passage cf. D.L. X. 3 (Diotimus . . .)-9.

² The death may have been much later: see Callisthenes in Did. 5, 66 sqq.

be true. He alleged *ὅτιν Ἀριστοτέλην θυσίαν τετελευτηκίᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ τοιαύτην ὅποιαν Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Δήμητρι;* and though the woman's name is not given the story applies to Pythias, since, according to the Will, Herpyllis survived, Pythias died before Aristotle. Now, in the *Letter to Alexander*, Athen. 595A-C (fr. 244, Oxf.), Theopompus says that Harpalus set up a temple to his dead mistress, Pythonice—she had been very well known in Athens, Diod. Sic. XVII. 108, 5—as Pythonice Aphrodite. Pythias is short for such names as Pythonice, like Hermias for such as Hermotimus; and so it might seem as if Lycon's story were only a transfer to Aristotle and Pythias of that of Harpalus and Pythonice, with Demeter instead of Aphrodite to make the tale especially offensive to Athenians. But a different explanation presents itself on consideration of a passage in the Will, Diog. L. V. 16, as the MSS. give it. According to the ordinary reading, which is due to Casaubon, Aristotle directs <τὴν> τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας (εἰκόνα) τῇ Δήμητρι ἀναθεῖναι. But from Bywater's edition it appears that the MSS. give τὴν δὴ μητέρα B: τὴν δημητέρα L¹V: τὴν δημώτερα AL²Q: τὴν δήμετρα Laurentianus 69. 28. Whether the last be traditional or due to correction, it seems to be right—i.e. we should read τῆς μητρὸς τ. ἢ. τὴν Δήμητρα ἀναθεῖναι. These words might refer to an idol of Demeter that had belonged to Phaestias. But the analogy of Pythonice Aphrodite, also of Lamia Aphrodite, Athen. 253A-B, suggests rather that they mean a statue of Phaestias with the attributes of Demeter; Lycon's story would then mean that Aristotle set up and worshipped a statue of Pythias Demeter. This might be a perversion of the Will's (Phaestias) Demeter, perhaps with help from the story of Pythonice Aphrodite. But in view of the love between husband and wife it might even be true.

III.

According to the scholiast, i.e. Proclus, on Hes. *Op.* 375—cf. Diog. L. V. 1 as restored by Müller—Timaeus said that Aristotle μετὰ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς τελευτὴν Ερπυλλίδι συνεῖναι τῇ θεραπαίνῃ ἐξ ἧς αὐτὸν σχεῖν νόον.¹ The first part of this notice would seem to be true in so far as it calls Herpyllis a *θεράπεινα*, but false if it means she was not Aristotle's wedded wife when he died.

That Herpyllis was of servile condition is confirmed by her name 'Thyme' or 'Cicala,' which is of a sort that usually, but not necessarily, indicates servile condition; see Fick-Bechtel, *Gr. Personenn.*², pp. 324 and 329, and also by the Will of Aristotle, if we may assume its genuineness. This contains no provision for repayment of dowry, and she does not go back to her own family; but Aristotle's trustees are to have care 'for the children, Herpyllis, and the estate,' § 12, as though she were his freedwoman. Then the direction to the trustees, § 13, to take care of her because of her good services to Aristotle—cf. the formula in decrees, Hicks, *Gr. Inscr.*¹, Nos. 83, 8; 85, 12; 87, 7; 88, 9; 99, 4—is not what we should expect in the case of the relict of an ordinary marriage. We may grant, then, that Timaeus was right when he called her a handmaid; and though, according to *Vita Menagiana* (and Suidas) Aristotle got her after Pythias from Hermias, yet Stahr's 'mit der Pythias,' *Aristotelia* I. 120 n., II. 289, may hit the mark. That she came from the neighbourhood of Atarneus may be indicated by the direction that she is to have παῖδα τὸν Πυρραῖον, § 13, the man from Pyrrha, a place in Lesbos, where is a lagoon on which the *Hist. An.* has much to say (Ross, *Arist.*, p. 4; D'Arcy Thompson, *On Arist.* as a Biologist, p. 13). Aristocles' statement in *P.E.* XV. 2, 15, that she was a Stagiritic,² is probably based on the provision in the Will for the case of her wishing

¹ Gaisford, *Post. Min. Gr.*, is not accessible; and I depend for this fragment on Ménage on D.L. V. 1, and a copy made by a friend from Müller, *F.H.G.* I., p. 211.

² Timaeus and Aristocles give us two conflict-

ing stories about Herpyllis, and we should not try to combine them. The apologist says she was a woman from Aristotle's own city, and he married her; the enemy says she was a handmaid, with whom he cohabited.

to live in Stagira; perhaps, too, on the term 'paternal house,' understood to be the house of the family of Herpyllis. But the Will ignores her family altogether. Herpyllis, then, may have come to Aristotle as handmaid of Pythias; slave she certainly was once; and at the time of his death his freedwoman, since the Will shows her already free.

But that when he died she was not merely free but his wedded wife, is also shown by the Will. Zeller, II. ii. 22 n., draws attention to its provisions in regard to her, and if we consider them we shall see that they are such as would not be made by a man for his mistress. Providing for the case of her wishing *ἄνδρα λαμβάνειν*, Aristotle requires the trustees to see *ὅπως μὴ ἀναξίως ἡμῶν δοθῇ*,¹ i.e. that she be dowered in a way suitable to Aristotle and his family. He also provides that if she wish to live in Stagira she is to have *τὴν πατρῶαν οἰκίαν*, though to turn the paternal mansion into a dower-house for the mistress, and that when there was offspring by the legitimate wife, would be not only extraordinary, but highly indecorous, and Aristotle was a stickler for decorum (*E.N.* IV. 9, 5). The Will, then, requires us to believe that Aristotle had not only freed Herpyllis, but formally married her—if not before relations began between them, at all events before the Will was made. Hermippus in Athen. 589c very much understates, and by understating misleads, *ἐπιμελείας φάσκων τῆς δεούσης τετυχηκέναι* in the Philosopher's Will.

That Aristotle, if he had no male child by Pythias, should have regularized his relations with Herpyllis on her giving him a son would be readily intelligible. But on closer examination this reason for his marrying Herpyllis seems to vanish. On the one hand, everything points to Nicomachus being legitimate heir when the Will was made. He is named after his paternal grandfather; on the significance of this cf. *Dem. in Boeot. de Nom.* Then there are no legacies for his maintenance in the Will—i.e. as legitimate, or, at least, legitimated, son he inherits everything except in so far as is stipulated to the contrary, whether by the agreement already made, § 13, with Nicanor, the girl's bridegroom designate, or by the Will. It may be added that the supposition that after Nicanor's death Theophrastus became the heir's guardian, and on the boy's death himself inherited, would explain his leaving property in Stagira (cf. Grote, *Arist.* I. 27 n.) when he died, D.L. V. 52,² and, if one likes, also his having Aristotle's library. On the other hand, the Will lends no support to the conventional story that Nicomachus was only half-brother to the girl it mentions. Nothing in it parts the two children from one another, or connects Nicomachus with Herpyllis—there is no hint that he will live with her as Demosthenes did with his mother. If we had only the Will before us, it is highly improbable that anyone would have thought of making Nicomachus half-brother to Pythias, and Aristotle's son by the handmaiden.

Further, if we may assume that the assertions of Hermippus and *Vita Menagiana* and Aristocles that Nicomachus was son of Herpyllis, though they do not mention Timaeus, go back to him, like D.L. V. 1, who does, then this external evidence becomes very dim under scrutiny, for Proclus, who of them all probably gets us closest to Timaeus, gives the boy no name. Now, at first sight—if we suppose Proclus not to have himself left out the name in quoting Timaeus—it seems

¹ So, according to Bywater, B.L.; *ἀνάξιος* AQV; cf. pp. 113, 46, and 114, 17 of Cobet's text. Cobet's *ἀναξίως ἡμῶν* is still less compatible with her being Aristotle's concubine at the time.

² Evidence for any more direct connexion between him and Stagira there is none. Wimmer gives only two references to the place (*Hist. Pl.* III. 11, 1, and IV. 16, 3), and these he might easily have got from Aristotle. For proof of his following Aristotle into Macedonia Gomperz,

Gh. Thinkers, E. Tr., IV. 566, refers also to *Tusc.* III. 10, 21, *Theophrastus interitum deplorans Callisthenis sodalis sui*. But Callisthenes and Theophrastus could have known one another when Callisthenes was working with Aristotle—see Dittenb. *Syll.* 275—on the list of *Pythian Victors* (D.L., No. 131, Rose). Also Callisthenes may not have accompanied Alexander from Europe, but have joined him later; *ἀνέβη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*, says Plut. *Alex.*, c. 53.

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immaterial whether Timaeus put in the name Nicomachus or the others added it, since Nicomachus was the only son. But if the source of Timaeus was the Will—and if the Will is genuine Timaeus (cf. Christ, *Gr. Litt.*⁶ II., p. 220, 9) is not likely to have neglected it—the case is not so simple. For in the Will the passage on Herpyllis is followed by one on a boy Myrmex, after which come the provisions as to slaves, Ambracis, 'Shoe' (F.-B. *l.l.*, p. 331), heading the list. The directions as to Myrmex make it quite plain that he is not a son. But if Timaeus had nothing better to go on than an abstract of or inaccurate information as to the Will, he might well suppose that the boy 'Ant,' who was mentioned between Herpyllis and Ambracis, 'Cicala' and 'Shoe,' was Aristotle's son by Herpyllis.

If so, then the first part of the statement attributed by Proclus to Timaeus that Aristotle lived with a handmaid named Herpyllis is true, but only a half-truth; the second part, that he had by her a son, is not true, being a wrong inference from the Will, but for the further error, the identification of this supposed son with Nicomachus, Timaeus is not to blame.

Against these suggestions, that Herpyllis had been duly wedded and that Nicomachus was son of Pythias, there remains the statement of the *Vita Marciana*, p. 426, 25, Rose, that Aristotle adopted Nicanor. If correct, this would mean that Aristotle had no male heir—cf. the adoption of a brother-in-law and his marriage to a daughter, there being no son, Dem. in *Spud.*, § 3, p. 1028—and it would follow that Nicomachus was in truth the illegitimate son of Herpyllis, and that the position of neither mother nor son was ever regularized. But the *Vita Marciana*, as we shall see, has its own reasons for making the most of the connexion between Proxenus and Aristotle; and, besides, here too we have probably only an inference from the Will, which, § 12, says: 'Nicanor shall have care both for the girl and for the boy Nicomachus . . . as being both father' (sc. as guardian) 'and brother.' Now Nicanor might have been called brother simply as being much nearer in age to the children than was their father; cf. Dem. in *Boeot. de Dot.* § 56, p. 1024. But there is another possibility—viz. that he was brother in the sense of first cousin. No controversial reason is discernible for inventing the sister Arimneste mentioned by *Vita Men.* and *Vita Marc.* If we suppose her to have been Nicanor's mother, then Aristotle's choice of Nicanor as husband of his daughter and guardian of the estate, and also, if a fact, Aristotle's own pupillage under Proxenus as alleged by the *Vita Marciana*, become easy to understand. Further, on this supposition the part of the Will on erection of statues mentions successively statues (a) of his sister's son, to whom he is entrusting his daughter and the whole estate, of her husband—Aristotle had only got so far as to be thinking of ordering this statue—and of herself; (b) of his brother; (c) of his mother.¹ Nicanor's name too has the same first element as that of the father of Aristotle, Nicomachus, who on this supposition is his maternal grandfather. Observe that the trustees, other than Theophrastus, to whom alone the provision, 'if he be willing and able,' is attached, are *Aristo-menes* and *Dio-teles*, *Tim-archus* and *Hipp-archus*. The last was a relation of the philosopher according to Suidas, *s.v.*, and so presumably were the others.²

¹ If Nicomachus the father really died when Aristotle was young and this is not merely inference from his being described as physician to Amyntas, who died 370, then the memorial to him must have been completed long before: the statue of the brother is already made. By naming his boy after his father Aristotle showed his filial regard.—To understand the significance of the father for the philosopher's development, we must remember that the father wrote both

on medicine and on physics; he cultivated his art φιλοσοφώτερος (cf. *Parv. Nat.* 436a 20).

² Nico-machus as son of Machaon is popular etymology if Machaon is really connected with μάχος (F.-B. *l.l.*, p. 198); but the warlike name is appropriate to a healing deity who must fight and overcome the demons of sickness.—The worship of Nicomachus at Pharae in Messenia, Paus. IV. 30, 3, shows nothing as to the origin of Aristotle's family. The Messenians made

Finally, there is the statement adduced by Sext. Empir. *Math.* I. 258, p. 657, Bekker, that Aristotle's daughter was married first to 'Nicanor the Stagirite' (cf. Diod. Sic. XVIII. 8, 3), οἰκείῳ ὄντι Ἀριστοτέλους. But the last words may be based on the story of the adoption, or, again, may be only somebody's inference from 'Stagirite,' just as the story just preceding, *ibid.*, of Plato's bored ear is an inference from the earring in his inventory, D.L. III. 42.

IV.

The manner in which Plutarch and the *Vita Marciana* deal with the affair of Hermias is worth consideration as showing the nature of the sources of our Aristotelian legend. Hermias never appears in this *Vita* which tells us so much that nobody else knows. Instead, we get the following passages which must be taken together to be understood:

1. 426, 22, Rose: Having become an orphan, he is brought up with Proxenus the Atarnean.¹

2. 427, 14: When he became seventeen, . . . at Athens he attends Socrates and was with him during the time, which, however, was short, up to his death.

After Socrates he attends Plato and was with him during the time up to his death, being twenty years old (sc. when he joined Plato).²

3. 429, 10: After Plato's death . . . Aristotle sets out for Macedonia, having been summoned by Philip to educate his son.

4. 428, 6 (cf. 428, 17; Ps. Amm. 441, 25; *Vita Lat.* 443, 18): He survived Plato twenty-three years.

The combined effect of these passages is that Aristotle goes straight from Athens to Macedonia at the age at which according to Apollodorus he left Hermias for Mitylene; the three years that Apollodorus, D.L. V. 9, lets him stay with Hermias after the twenty with Plato being converted into three years before them with Socrates. Atarneus enters into Aristotle's life only as the birthplace of his alleged guardian Proxenus; and possibly as Aristotle's abode in childhood, an age at which he might know the eunuch without danger to his own reputation. In this way the charge of immorality brought by Theocritus Chius in his epigram is disposed of without mention of either Theocritus or Hermias.

The violation of chronology involved in making Aristotle study under Socrates is not greater than that involved in the statement in the *Vita*, 431, 7-12, that he was in Asia with Alexander till Alexander's death.³ This also is knavery, not folly; it disposes of the charge, omitted by Aristocles (though see § 11 'friendships with the kings'), that Aristotle conspired to kill Alexander, Plut. *Alex.*, c. 77, which charge in the third century A.D. caused Caracalla to expel all Peripatetics from Alexandria and to burn their books, Stahr, *Aristotelia* I. 143, Zeller II. ii. 36n. The period with

Asclepius child of a Messenian mother, and worshipped him at their Leuctra, Paus. III. 26, 4; in Gerenia, *ibid.* 9 and 10, they had the bones, brought from Asia by Nestor, of Machaon; and they located in Messenia all the three places of II. II. 729-730—Oechalia and Tricca, Paus. IV. 2, 2; 3, 2, as well as Ithome. The name Ithome no doubt suggested these misappropriations.

¹ Ἀραρνεῖς means not only (1) the city, but also (2) the eponymous hero, Dittenb. *Syll.* 3 229 (end), and (3), as here and Athen. 696a, also Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀραρνεῖς, a man of that place.

² So the codex; but Rose emends to 'during the time up to his death, which was twenty years.' Either statement suits the chronology

of the *Vita*, according to which Aristotle is twenty when he goes to Plato, and (429, 3) stays with him twenty years. See also Jacoby, *Apollodor.* p. 324, 16.

³ Aristotle is here substituted for Anaximenes. Or for Anaxarchus: with *Vita* 431, 10, Aristotle declares sacrifices unfavourable, but Alexander disregards him and dies, contrast Justin XII., c. 13. Anaxarchus induces Alexander to enter Babylon against the advice of the Magi. What follows, vv. 12-15, answers Eubulides, *P.E.*, § 5 Ar. quarrelled with Philip (*Alexander*?, see D.L. V. 10), and Philodemus, *Rhet.* II. 63, 9 Sudhaus Ar. never kept a friend.

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Socrates, however, is not essential to the *Vita's* treatment of Hermias, which depends on two assertions: (1) that Aristotle was educated by Proxenus 'the Atarnean'; and (2) that in middle life he went from Athens, not to Hermias at all, but straight to Macedonia. This second essential idea is already in Plutarch. For, *Mor.* 603c, he explains the obscene last couplet of the epigram of Theocritus, the couplet that D.L. omits, to mean that Aristotle exchanged the Academy for Macedonia,¹ telling us ἔστι γὰρ ποταμὸς περὶ Πέλλην ὃν Μακεδόνες Βόρβορον καλοῦσι. This has deceived many, even Zeller II. ii. 15, 6; but that Aristocles was not misled by Plutarch, seems clear from his context, § 12; and Diels-Schubart rightly print with a small letter βορβόρον, Did. 6, 49. The river owes its existence only to the inventiveness of some apologist for Aristotle. The idea of sending Aristotle on Plato's death straight from Athens to Macedonia instead of *via* Atarneus may also appear in fr. 669 quoted by Demetr. *de Eloc.*, §§ 29 and 154, from a letter attributed to Aristotle: 'I went from Athens to Stagira because of the Great King' (Philip?), 'from Stagira to Athens because of the great storm' (the murder of Philip?).

The linking of Proxenus with Atarneus cannot be traced further back. But if the meaning is that Aristotle went to Atarneus after his father's death, this comes near to the story of Epicurus (fr. 171, Usener) in Athen. 354B and Aristocles, §1, that Aristotle ran through his father's property and then went soldiering; for it was by service in Asia that men sought to mend their fortunes, cf. Aeschin. *F.L.*, § 147, on his own father.

V.

Comparison with the passage of Athenaeus to which reference has just been made shows that Aristocles—in whose list of early assailants not the least important feature is the total absence of Platonists (contrast Grote, *Arist.* I., pp. 29-31)—is not putting out the results of his own original research in the passage preserved by Eusebius. Though Athenaeus gives the allegation of Epicurus only, yet his source also mentioned Eubulides and Cephisodorus as accusers of Aristotle, for whom see Aristocles, §§ 5 and 7. Then compare Athen. 354C, ταῦτα μόνος Ἐπίκουρος εἶρηκεν κατ' αὐτοῦ with Aristocles, § 10, ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ τινα λέγειν. And that Aristocles abbreviated is shown by the absence from his account of the remark of Epicurus about Aristotle's natural ability and the excellence he attained, though without these words what Epicurus says about Aristotle and Plato loses its meaning, which is that Aristotle benefited by Plato thanks to his cleverness, οὐκ ὦν ἀφνήs, sc. in spite of defective education in youth. To this last charge *Vita Marciana* is replying when it says, 427, 3-13, 'so, while he was still young, τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐπαιδεύετο παιδείαν, as is shown by his *Homeric Enquiries* . . .'

What Epicurus said in regard to Aristotle's entrance into Plato's school is somewhat obscured by a textual error in Athenaeus, where we should read ἀναπεπταμένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος περιπάτου πᾶσι (φησί, Kaibel) as in *P.E.* The point is that Plato admitted any and everybody as pupils however unqualified by previous education; a charge to which Olympiodorus gives a turn favourable to Plato, *V. Pl.*, c. 6, p. 194H., and which is elsewhere met by a flat denial—viz., by the story of the inscription (see Zeller II. i. 411, 3) over Plato's Museum. Akin is the charge, also presumably from the Epicurean side, cf. *Acad. Ind.* I. 11, M., p. 4, that Plato ruined philosophy inasmuch as his dialogues induced unfit persons to philosophize. But Aristotle, when, abandoning philosophy, he began to train in rhetoric and politics, became a grievous 'antagonist to life's salvation' (see Philod. *Rhet.* II. 58, 10-17, Sudh.).

¹ Was a hint taken from *Frogs* 85, 'Agathon has gone from Athens ἐς μακάρων εὐωχίαν?'

VI.

To show the good use that Aristotle made of his influence at the Court of Macedon, the *Vita Marciana*¹ gives three instances of his successful intervention on behalf of States:

430, 3: "His benefits to whole States are shown by Stagira and by Eressus, the country of his pupils, Theophrastus and Phantias. For he persuades Alexander to found a second time his own country, Stagira, which had been razed by Philip, and to give it additional territories.—In return the Stagirites called a month 'Aristoteles' (so codex: *Stagirite* Ps. Amm. 440, 2), and used to keep a festival 'Aristotelea.' And after his death in Chalcis they sent for his body and erected an altar on his grave; they called the place after his name, and there they used to hold their council meetings.—Also, when Eressus was about to be besieged by Philip (*was about to be treated unjustly by the king Alexander*, Ps. Amm. 440, 4), Aristotle's persuasion effected its release.

He conferred many benefits on the Athenians too by his letters to Philip (fr. 655), so that the Athenians set up a statue to him on the Acropolis."

Of the statue on the Acropolis at Athens nothing is known, any more than of the group set up somewhere by Philip and Olympias of themselves and Aristotle according to the *Vita* 429, 15.² Christ, *Gr. Litt.*⁶ I. 721, speaks of the Athenians granting him the *proxenia* in return for the advantages he had secured to Athens from Philip; but the only authority appears, *ibid.* n. 8, to be an Arabic Life, and the orators and historians are silent on this diplomatic activity. The letters on behalf of Athens no doubt existed, but they are merely the counterblast to those against Athens that were alleged by Demochares (on such accusations by anti-Macedonians, cf. Beloch III. i. 554; Aeschin. in *Ctes.*, § 225). Such apologetic fiction began early; cf. the statement of Hermippus, D.L. V. 2, that Aristotle was on an embassy to Philip on behalf of the Athenians when Xenocrates became head of the School in the Academy.³

As achievements of sound philosophy, the rescues of Eressus and of Stagira appear conjoined in Plutarch, *Mor.* 1097B, 1126F. But Plutarch assigns the saving of Eressus (*viz.* from tyrants, not Philip or Alexander), not to the master of Theophrastus and Phantias, but to the pupils themselves—to both 1097, to Theophrastus 1126. The *Vita* has decked Aristotle in borrowed plumes; for all that is known of the matter see Hicks, *Gk. Inscr.*¹, No. 125.

Borrowed plumes, too, are the heroic honours at Stagira. The idea of the removal of Aristotle's body may have been suggested by the words 'wherever they may bury me' in the Will, D.L. V. 16, just as the adoption of Nicanor, *Vita Marc.* 426, 25, is due to the word 'brother' in the Will, § 12. But the worship belongs to Aristoteles of Cyrene. Himself *ἱερόφωνος καὶ τραυλός*, Hdt. IV. 155, he early communicated to Aristotle the lisp mentioned by Timotheus the Athenian, D.L. V. 1, Plutarch's imitators of which, *Mor.* 26B and 53D, are as imaginary as his river Borborus; and Pindar tells of him that 'in death he resteth apart, at the further end of the market-place. Blessed was he while he dwelt among men, and thereafter a hero worshipped by the people' (*Pyth.* V. 87 and 93-95, Sandys).

¹ Comparing 436, 2, *Vita Lat.* 445, 1-3, read 429, 16: μέγα μέρος ὡν «τῆς βασιλείας», τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὀργάνῳ κτλ.

² A now headless Herm at Athens is inscribed 'Alexander set up divine Aristotle,' etc.; but the lettering is of the time of Hadrian or later, Studniczka, *Bildnis des Aristoteles*, p. 14.

³ Except that the embassy falls at a time,

339/8 (D.L. IV. 14), when according to the conventional Life Aristotle was tutor to Alexander, the chronology of this passage seems free from difficulty. *Ἐπειτα* in Cobet's text, p. 111, 25, continues the unorthodox account, which was interrupted, v. 13, to let pro-Aristotelian apology have its say.

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But the whole tale of Aristotle's restoring Stagira appears to be a myth, for to be rebuilt it must first be destroyed, and in all probability it never was destroyed.

No doubt in Fischer's text of Diod. Sic. XVI. 52, 9 we read that in 349/8 Philip στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὰς Χαλκιδικὰς πόλεις <Στά>γειραν μὲν φρούριον ἐκπολιορκήσας κατέσκαψε; and Beloch III. i. 494¹ holds to this reading in the notes, saying in the text, 'Stagiros, which resisted, was taken by storm.' But the MSS. give Γειραν and Ζειρα (with varying accentuation), and we had better suppose that some outpost with a barbarous name was meant than emend to Stagira. For apart from the consideration that, as will presently be argued, Stagira was not a Chalcidian city, 'fort' is hardly a suitable term, and Stagira as a fem. sg. seems to be very late.

If the emendation be accepted, the destruction of Stagira will be—*sc.* according to Diodorus—a military operation preparatory to the attack on Olynthus. The ordinary view seems now to be that its destruction was part of the general devastation of Chalcidice—viz. of the complete demolition of Olynthus, Methone, Apollonia, and thirty-two cities on the coast of Thrace as alleged by Demosthenes, *Phil.* III. 26. But even Apollonia, which Demosthenes expressly mentions, was not destroyed, and it is now recognized that his assertion is a gross exaggeration; see Beloch III. i. 497 n., also Callisthenes, *Stob.* III., p. 332H. There is then no *a priori* probability in favour of the destruction of Stagira, even if it was a Chalcidian foundation, unless, indeed, the philosopher's city put up a strong fight against Macedon for Greek freedom.

Chalcidian, however, it was not, but Andrian. Strabo, indeed, says of it (VII., fr. 35) καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν Χαλκιδικῶν; and D. Hal. *Amm.* I., c. 5 says Aristotle's mother was descended from one of those who led the colony from Chalcis to Stagira. Dio Chrysostom even puts it in the territory of Olynthus: II. 79 he makes Philip say to Alexander τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῷ συνεχωρήσαμεν ἀνακτίειν, Στάγειρα, τῆς Ὀλυνθίας οὔσαν; and XLVII. 9 he says of himself that, before learning from a letter of Aristotle (fr. 657) that he failed in his attempt to restore Stagira, τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην ἐνίστε ἐμακάριζον, ὅστις Σταγειρίτης ὦν (τὰ δὲ Στάγειρα κώμη τῆς Ὀλυνθίας ἦν) ἀλούσης δὲ Ὀλύνθου συγγενόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ κτλ. But Thucydides calls it 'a colony of Andrians,' IV. 88, 2, just as 84, 1 he does Acanthus, its neighbour on the south; similarly, the people of Argilus to the north are 'colonists of Andrians,' 103, 2. Thucydides should weigh with us more than Strabo and the rest, especially as from Xenophon's accurate ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας αἵ περ μέγισται τῶν περὶ Ὀλυνθον πόλεων, *Hell.* V. 2, 11, to Dio's phrasing is no great step. Grote's combination of the two accounts, *Arist.* I., p. 2, 'its founders were Greeks from the island of Andros, reinforced afterwards by additional immigrants from Chalcis in Euboea,' rests on no ancient authority, and is hardly compatible with Thucydides. For 84, 2, and 103, 2, he distinguishes the people of Acanthus and of Argilus as Andrians from the Chalcidians, and so it is unlikely that 88, 2 he would have said simply, 'Stagiros too, a colony of Andrians, not long after (*sc.* the revolt from Athens of Acanthus) joined the revolt,' if the place had been recolonized by Chalcis.

As an Andrian city it is not likely to have become 'incorporated in the confederacy of free cities under the presidency of Olynthus,' Grote, *ibid.*, much less to have fought on the side of Olynthus. In 382 the Andrian Acanthus along with Apollonia begged Sparta to help them against the aggressive Olynthian confederacy, declaring βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολίται εἶναι, *Xen. Hell.* V. 2, 14. Why should it not have continued to believe, and the other Andrian cities, Stagira and Argilus, with it, that the danger to autonomy was greater from

¹ In a note, p. 497, showing the exaggeration in Dem. *Phil.* III. 26, he seems doubtful whether Stagira really was destroyed: 'Stagira is said no doubt (*soll allerding's*) to have been destroyed

(Diod. XVI. 52, 9) and then restored . . . yet (*doch*) Aristotle in his Will, D.L. V. 14, mentions his paternal house there (*seine dort stehende πατρῷα οἰκία*).'

Chalcidian Olynthus than from the uncivilised of Macedonians? And Aristotle himself, wherever he was at the time, and whether or no he was as anti-Olynthian as Demochares alleged, may well have thought so too. But however that may have been, Acanthus was spared by Philip (Beloch III. i. 497 n.; Schaefer, *Dem.*¹ II. 144 n.); so why not Stagira?

Perhaps also the wording of Demochares' charges against Aristotle, as reported by Aristocles in *P.E.* XV. 2, 6, warrants the inference that he knew nothing of Stagira's being demolished. Whereas he speaks of the demolition of Olynthus, κατασκαφείσης Ὀλύνθου, he charges Aristotle with the betrayal of Stagira, Στάγειρα τὴν πατρίδα προδοῦναι Μακεδόσιν αὐτόν. In anti-Macedonian language cities only join Philip because they are betrayed, and the traitor can always be named. On the other hand, the reference to the paternal house in Aristotle's Will, D.L. V. 14, from which Brandis, *Arist.* I., p. 48, 4, inferred that Stagira was only partially destroyed, is compatible with the destruction followed by rebuilding of Stagira no less than with its not being destroyed at all; and, again, in twenty-six years single houses—and perhaps a temple, cf. D.L. V. 16—might be rebuilt, even though, as Dio asserts, XLVII. 11, foolish Stagiritēs οὐκ εἶσαν προβῆναι τὸ κώμιον εἰς ἀξίωμα πόλεως, καὶ νῦν ἔτι δοικητόν ἐστιν.

The last words may reveal the ground for the fiction that Aristotle failed to restore Stagira because of Stagirite opposition, unless, indeed, Dio concocted it himself just to suit his own position in Prusa; cf. Wilam. *Ar. u. Ath.* II. 405 n. on Himerius. But though Strabo also speaks of Stagira as desolate, VII., fr. 35, we are not to infer, because it was desolate in the time of Augustus, that it had been destroyed by Philip and was not rebuilt. A general decline affected the Greek cities in Thrace after they came under Macedonia; cf. Wilam. *ibid.* I. 335 n. Apart from other causes, such as war and heavy taxation, the new foundations such as Thessalonica must have had their effect. The conventional story, on the other hand, may be ascribed to the belief that Stagira must have suffered in the general destruction of Chalcidice of which Demosthenes told, combined either with the knowledge that Stagira existed as a city, or more probably with a desire to refute the allegation of Demochares that Aristotle 'betrayed' it.

VII.

If, as has just been argued, Aristotle had no share in the relations between Athens and Philip, and did not give laws to a restored Stagira, can we think of any other opportunities he had of acquiring practical experience in statesmanship? He certainly seems to claim it for himself when, in the last chapter of *E.N.*, having completed his exposition of moral science, and shown, X. 9, 1-18 beg., that it must be supplemented by political science, he proceeds, §§ 18-22, to justify his attempting himself to establish political science. For it is difficult to discern what qualification he has special to himself among teachers unless it be previous practical experience in politics. He does not indeed explicitly put forward such a claim any more than he explicitly denies this previous experience to the professors of statesmanship. But his setting them in contrast to the practising politicians, who have experience but not science, §§ 18-19, the emphasis he lays on experience when he is condemning their methods of teaching, §§ 20-21, and his assertion, § 20, that they are quite ignorant of what is the nature and the subject of the science, with which cf. 1095a 3-4, all this implies such denial; while from his explicit declaration, § 19 end, that experience is an indispensable condition for the acquisition of the science, cf. § 20, 1181a 19-21, it follows either that the author of *E.N.* has the experience or that he too is a blind leader of the blind.

Some such experience Aristotle may have had about 350 B.C. if we are prepared to admit to Demochares that he was then not in Athens, but in Stagira; and here

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we should notice that the ascription of *Acad. Ind.*, col. V., to Dicaearchus by Mekler, p. 22, which would give us Dicaearchus as authority for the statement that 'they (*sc.* Aristotle and Xenocrates if the defective passage vv. 17-19 is rightly restored after Str. 610) went away to Hermias, for Hermias had sent them a very friendly invitation even earlier, and then especially urged them to come to him on account of Plato's death,'¹ rests on no MS. authority. As Mekler himself says, p. xxix, it is entirely due to the impression made on him by the vividness of the narrative: a minor difficulty is pointed out by him, p. viii 4.²

Another occasion which would afford scope, especially for skill in law-giving, is the mitigation of the despotism of Hermias³ under the influence of the philosophers. According to the quotations in *Did. in Dem.* 5, 50-63 (= Theop. fr. 242, Oxf., vv. 3 sqq.), after the coming of Coriscus, Erastus, Aristotle, and (see Jaeger, *Arist.*, p. 115 n.) Xenocrates, Hermias became less autocratic (*sc.* he associated his 'comrades' with him, cf. Newman, *Politics* I., p. 464; also Hicks on *Gr. Inscr.*¹, No. 100 = Dittenb. *Syll.*³ I., No. 229, ruling as Governor-in-Council, and not alone), 'wherefore he became ruler of all the neighbouring territory as far as Assus; and then, in his great joy, he assigned the city of the Assii to the philosophers mentioned, but Aristotle was the one he most esteemed and towards whom he was most friendly disposed.' If Aristotle did have a share in these constitutional reforms, then he got at Atarneus practical experience in constitution-making, and perhaps generally in politics.

According to the quotation given by Didymus, Assus was not acquired by Eubulus as Strabo 610 affirms, but by Hermias when sole ruler; and the same passage allows us to doubt whether the philosophers ordinarily lived at Assus. Strabo says plainly that here Aristotle διέτριψε διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἑρμίαν τὸν τύραννον κηδείαν; and *Acad. Ind.* V. 8, as restored by Mekler, p. 23, says πόλιν ἔδωκεν οἰκεῖν τὴν Ἀσὸν ἐν ᾗ ἐξένιζε· διατρίβοντες δ' ἐφιλοσόφουν εἰς ἑνα περίπατον συνιόντες. But in Didymus 5, 60 we have only τοῖς εἰρημένοις φιλοσόφοις ἀ<πένειμεν> τὴν Ἀσσίῳ πόλιν. Now 'assigned' might mean 'gave to dwell in,' as Themistocles lived in Magnesia according to *Plut. Them.*, c. 31. But it might also mean merely that Hermias assigned to the philosophers the revenues of the city he owed to them; and this seems more likely to be the meaning, since, dwelling ordinarily at Assus, the philosophers would neither adorn his Court nor be at hand for deep converse.

However that may be, if Xenocrates and Aristotle went to Hermias, not *motu proprio*, but, as Strabo and *Acad. Ind.* assert, on his invitation, then their both going to him shows nothing as to the relations between them. As for the statement of *Acad. Ind.* that they held school jointly in Assus, it falls into place in the following series:

(A) Aristotle sets up as teacher in rivalry to Plato, who is protected by Xenocrates, Aelian, *V.H.* III. 19.

(B) (a) Aristotle sets up as teacher only after Xenocrates has become Head of the Academy, and in opposition to him, Hermippus in D.L. V. 2-3; cf. D.L. IV. 6, V. 10.

(b) Aristotle and Xenocrates always friends:

(i.) Joint School at Assus, *Acad. Ind.* 1.1;

(ii.) On death of Speusippus the two succeed to the School σωφρονεστάτα, *Vita Marciana* 431, 18; cf. *Cic. Ac. Post.* I., § 17.

¹ Strabo seems to connect the invitation with the death of Eubulus when Hermias became sole ruler, δεδέξατο ἐκείνον καὶ μετεπέμψατο τὸν τε Ἀρ. καὶ Ἄν.

² Dicaearchus has also been put where he should not be by Themistius, *Or.* XXIII. (quoted by Grote, *Arist.* I. 29 n.), Κηφισοδώρου δὲ καὶ Εὐβουλίδας καὶ Τιμαίου καὶ Δικαίρχου καὶ στρατὸν ἔδον τῶν ἐπιθεμένων Ἀριστοτέλει. Zeller's sug-

gestion, II. ii. 889, 3, that Dicaearchus is here by mistake for Demochares seems proved by the remaining three assailants being like Demochares among the eight mentioned by Aristocles, *P.E.* XV. 2, 1-8. Themistius is merely repeating Aristocles.

³ Compare the similar change at Heracleia under Timotheus (reigned 345-337, Beloch), according to Memnon in Jebb, *Ath. Or.* II. 246 n.

The use of the name of Coriscus for any supposed person probably originated in Athens (cf. Aristotle's use of Socrates, Callias, Cleon) when he was a young student.

VIII.

The passage *E.N.* X. 9, 18-22, to which reference has just been made, attacks professors of statesmanship in general; but, as Spengel pointed out in his edition of the *Rhetoric*, Vol. II., pp. 48 and 321 on 1356a 28 and 1399b 9, it attacks in particular Isocrates. In (XV.) *Antid.* 79-83 Isocrates puts legislation, in which novelty is not required, which affects internal affairs only, and for which no more is necessary than—an easy task—to collect the laws in repute elsewhere, below his own original discourses, which show his countrymen how to administer all Hellas nobly, justly, and with advantage to Athens. Aristotle retorts that to judge, except very crudely, of the products of an art is only possible for those who already are experts in that art; the utmost that the study of collections of laws, which are the products of statesmanship, can do for the layman is to improve his intelligence for such things; the study of laws will not make the layman into a lawgiver. Accordingly he himself must investigate legislation and statesmanship. Here then Aristotle says, in effect, 'It is disgraceful to be silent and let Isocrates speak'; but he says it not as a beginner in teaching, but when, § 1, at least a course in Ethics has been delivered and, § 23, a collection of Politics is ready; and he says it to justify, not his *Rhetoric*, but his *Politics*. The conflict is not of rhetorician with rhetorician, but between rival guides to the practical life.

This consequence of Spengel's discovery would probably have been more obvious but for faith in the conventional scheme of Aristotle's life, unwillingness to let the *enfant terrible* loose in the classroom while the old Head was alive, and the fact that the ancients limit the application of the alleged parody (cf. *Eur. Philoct.*, fr. 796N) to the rhetoric of Isocrates. Still, the ancients do not conceive of Aristotle's lectures in rhetoric as the inception, but as the completion of his course of instruction. Seeing the success of Isocrates, Aristotle *mutavit repente totam formam prope disciplinae suae* and (cf. *Tusc.* I., § 7) united knowledge of things to practice of oratory; so *Cic. de Or.* III., § 141, implying, as Zeller noticed, II. ii. 18, 3, that Aristotle already had a school. Similarly the 'afternoon lectures' on rhetoric of which Quint. III. 1, 14 speaks, and also *Philod. Rhet.* II. 50, 2 τῆς δέλης ἐγύμναζεν ἐπιφωνήσας· αἰσχρὸν κτλ., imply morning lectures as well; see *Aul. Gell.* XX. 5, 2-5. Philodemus, following probably Epicurus (see *Sudhaus* II., p. 328, index, s.v. Epic.), is so far from supposing Aristotle to make his start in teaching with rhetoric that he asks, II. 56, 5, if Aristotle in his parody had in view what is disgraceful by the standard of the natural ends, 'how was it he did not think it naturally disgraceful to speak in the lawcourt and Assembly¹ words resembling the utterances of the hirelings among orators rather than words resembling those of the godlike among philosophers? And why did he fall away (μετέπεσεν) from the urging onwards of the younger men (sc. to the study of philosophy), making experience of dreadful resentment and hatred whether on the part of the followers of Isocrates or of some other professors? And surely he implanted in his pupils great admiration of the Faculty (sc. oratory), inasmuch as he both was a truant from his proper subject (πραγματείας), and for the reasons given (cf. p. 51, col. 37, and p. 62, 9 sqq.) was found collecting along with

¹ *Ἐπὶ βήματος*, sc. through the mouths of his pupils. At the end of col. LIV., p. 59, we seem to want something like 'if he was guided by hope of the truth . . . <why did he not teach> the oratory that is considered to be like that of Isocrates (sc. epideictic oratory), which he ridi-

culed in divers ways, and not civil oratory, which he held to be different from that?' The use here of *διεμώκησατο* suggests that the *μωκία* on Aristotle's countenance, *Ael. V.H.* III. 19, was first discerned by some indignant Isocratean.

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From this long extract we learn that Philodemus considered that when Aristotle quoted that verse and took to rhetoric he became a deserter from philosophy (*sc.* philosophy according to the Epicureans inculcates the quiet life) and took also to the teaching of politics. Similarly, in addition to rhetoric, Gellius mentions politics as a subject of the afternoon lectures.

Since practising statesmen must be eloquent, Aristotle may well have started his lectures on rhetoric in conjunction with his course of politics; and the limitation of the *λέγειν* of the parody to rhetorical teaching was not unnatural after men had ceased to be conscious of the actuality of Isocrates' pamphlets when they were issued, and failed to recognize that as contributions to the political and economical problems of his day they were, in spite of their boundless self-complacency, of more practical value than all 'the *Laws* and *Politics* of the Professors,' and regarded them as mere epideictic oratory, of which the aim was to tickle the ear, Cic. *Or.*, § 37, cf. § 38 end, having *formam suadendi* only, Quint. III. 4, 14. If Isocrates was merely a teacher of eloquence, who from time to time wrote show speeches to advertise himself, if he was just a rhetorician, then Aristotle could not contend with him except in rhetoric. Hence, while the story which names Xenocrates in the parody, which story has the earlier authority of Hermippus, D.L. V. 2-3, but may yet be the later of the two versions, extends the conflict to philosophy in general, the version we get through the schools of rhetoric, which brings in Isocrates, limits its sphere to rhetoric.

Even so, something very like the view here advanced is to be found in Cic. *de Or.* III., §§ 139-141. It is true that, if we look to § 141 only, which tells the story of Aristotle's change, we learn that he was moved to make it by the success of Isocrates—success which he observed to be due to Isocrates having transferred his discourses from forensic and public causes *ad inanem sermonis elegantiam*. But the clause *quod ipse . . . transtulisset* makes difficulties anyhow; and though Cicero takes the same view elsewhere (cf. the blundering passage *Brutus*, § 48), it is inconsistent not only with the *nobilitas* here admitted of Isocrates' pupils, but also with the argument of §§ 126-143. In § 139 we read that Timotheus was trained by Isocrates in the same accomplishments as Dio by Plato, Epaminondas by Lysis, Agesilaus by Xenophon, Archytas by Philolaus, and all Magna Graecia by Pythagoras; for, § 140, there once was a single comprehensive system of instruction, which satisfied the needs both of the scholar and of the statesman, and, in conjunction with certain natural qualifications, made a man a good speaker. So the sense required in § 141—and we get it if we neglect the clause *quod . . . transtulisset*—is that Aristotle observed that the school of Isocrates was a success because Isocrates imparted both learning and eloquence, whereas Aristotle imparted learning only; Aristotle therefore added rhetoric to his other subjects, and in consequence was appointed Alexander's tutor as being able to teach him not only how to act but also how to speak.

Finally, the context of the line parodied perhaps gives some support to the view here advanced—viz. that the conflict was between rival guides to the practical life, and was in the region of political theory much more than in that of rhetoric. The two lines preserved (see Plut. *Mor.* 1108B-C) say, 'but on behalf of all the host of the Hellenes it is disgraceful to be silent and let barbarians speak.' Now to be spokesman on behalf of all the Hellenes was precisely what Isocrates claimed, and the parody, which, if not Aristotle's own, is not ill devised, asserts that Isocrates was unfit for this, much less fit than Aristotle.

C. M. MULVANY.

BENARES.

HOMERIC WORDS IN ARCADIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

It has been known for many years that inscriptions in the Arcadian dialect contain a considerable number of words which occur commonly in the Homeric poems and rarely, if at all, elsewhere. The first attempt at a complete list was made by Otto Hoffmann in *Die griechischen Dialekte*, I. pp. 276-278. He gives as Homeric αἶσα ('share'), βόλομαι, νν, ἀπνέσθω, ἀρνύω, ἀσκηθῆς, δεάτοι, δῶμα, Ἑκατόμβοια and Ἑκατόμβοια, ἥκοντα, κελεύθω, μέστ', πληθύν, and πλός. Buck, in *Greek Dialects*, p. 132, added εὐχολά and ἄμαρ, and we might with as much justification add ἔρπειν, λεύσσοντες, and ἀέλιος. In each case a Homeric word, unusual in later Greek except in verse, is used in ordinary Arcadian epigraphic prose.

Buck did not try to deduce anything from this body of facts, and neither Hoffmann nor Mr. T. W. Allen, who quotes without evident disapproval a selection from Hoffmann's list (*Homer: The Origins and the Transmission*, p. 100), has put forward any explicit theory, but both give reasons for quoting the words and for attaching importance to them. In his introduction Hoffmann advances the view that Arcadian is a survival of the pre-Dorian language of the Peloponnese, which he calls 'Süd-Achäisch,' and his careful collection of Homeric words in Arcadian as part of the 'South Achaean' vocabulary gives us good reason for assuming that he regards them as an essential part of the dialect and not as an artificial accretion. Mr. Allen discusses the component parts of Homer's vocabulary and claims that Arcadian with Cypriote represents 'the oldest form of the language of the Peloponnesus': so perhaps we may assume that he too regards at least the words which he quotes as natural to Arcadian and not as a late literary imitation of Homer. Neither writer says, or implies, more than this, but it seems easy to push their assertions further and claim that, since in Arcadian words, which Homer used often and later Greeks used either in verse or not at all, occur in prose inscriptions, Arcadian still used in historical times traces of an ancient vocabulary, akin to one from which Homer drew and surviving in isolated inland districts from days before the Dorian invasion. Homer must have found his vocabulary somewhere: why not part of it in the 'South Achaean' language of the Peloponnese before it was confined to inaccessible districts by the conquering Dorians? We might perhaps come to some such conclusion if it were proved that any, or all, of the Homeric words in Arcadian were really indigenous and independent of Homeric or other literary influence, but first we must examine the evidence and see whether both Homer and the Arcadian epigraphists got the words from a common source, or whether the Arcadian epigraphists merely imitated Homer.

I.

In the first place Hoffmann's list needs an excision. He gives πληθύν as a nominative forming a dative πληθί contracted from πληθύνι, and he claims that here is the Homeric πληθύν (B. 278 and O. 305) which forms the accusative πληθύν (B. 143, 488. E. 676. A. 305, 360, 405. O. 295. P. 31, 221. Y. 197, 377. *Batr.* 169), the genitive πληθύνος (I. 637) and the dative πληθύνι (X. 458. A. 514. π. 105). The Homeric evidence is excellent: the Arcadian is less good. The nominative πληθύν is not to be found: the dative πληθί occurs in the fourth century Tegean Law (*I.G.* V. 2. 6, 20), *ἐναγόντω ἰν δικάστηριον τὸ γινόμενον τοῖ πληθί τῆς ζαμίαν*, but there is no reason to

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believe that *πλήθι* is a contraction of *πληθῦ* from the nominative *πληθός*. Third declension nouns neuter in -ος form in Arcadian a dative in -ι; in the same inscription *ἔτος* forms a dative *ἐτι* (6, 99);¹ and the correct nominative of *πλήθι* is not *πληθός* but *πλήθος*, not the special Homeric but the common Greek form.

II.

We are now free to consider the list on its merits and to see what relation the 'Homeric' words in Arcadian bear to the same or similar words in Homer. First we must consider the differences in use, form, and sense.

In use, Arcadian *νυ* differs from Homeric *νυ*. In Homer *νυ* strengthens a verb, e.g. δ 110, *οἰδύρονται νύ που*, and it has no other use; in Arcadian *νυ* strengthens the definite article. In the Tegean Temple Regulations (*I.G.* V. 2. 3, 14) we find *πάρ τάννυ*, 'contrary to these regulations': in a fifth century inscription from Mantinea (*I.G.* V. 2. 262, 23) *κατὰ τῶννυ* means 'against these men': a fourth century inscription from Tegea (*I.G.* V. 2. 4, 5) has *(τ)άννυ*, but is too fragmentary to allow translation: the Tegean Law for the Restitution of Exiles, found at Delphi, has (l. 30) *ἐν ταῖννυ*, 'in these days,' and (l. 59) *τῶννυ*, 'of these men,' and possibly (l. 61) *ταῖννυ*, 'of these women.' In each case the addition of *νυ* turns the article into a demonstrative pronoun. Such an event does not take place in the Homeric poems, where the article can assume such functions by itself, but both in the language of Homer and in Arcadian *νυ* is attached to another word and strengthens it. It is noticeable that in Cypriote *νυ* is constructed with the verb and not with the article (Idalian Bronze, ll. 6 and 16).

In form, the two sets of words differ much as we might expect. Arcadian has *α* where Homer has *η*. So we find *ἀπύω*, *εὐχολά*, and *ἀέλιος* instead of *ἡπύω*, *εὐχολή*, and *ἡέλιος*. Arcadian, too, sometimes prefers an unaspirated to an aspirated consonant: Homer has *μέσφα* (e.g. θ 508, *μέσφ' ἡούς*), but Arcadian has *μέστε* in *I.G.* V. 2. 4, 22, *μέστε ζατὸν εἰο*, and *μέστ' ἄν*, l. 12, of the same inscription *μέστ' ἄν ἀέλιος ὄν(τέλλοι ?)*, and again in *I.G.* V. 2. 6, 30, *μέστ' ἄν ἐπι(σχη)*. Again, Homer uses the comparative *πλέες* (Δ 395) and its accusative *πλέας* (B 129); what the nominative was is uncertain. Arcadian of the fourth century has (*I.G.* V. 2. 3, 16) *πλὺς ἀμέραν καὶ νυκτός*, 'for more than a day and a night,' where *πλός* is the accusative singular neuter, contracted possibly from *πλέος*.

Not much can be proved by these differences in use and form. The form *πλέες* is actually found in Lesbian [*I.G.* XII. 2. 1, 10, *πλ(ε)ας των αἰμυσεω(ν)*], but in Arcadian it is only conjecture. The substitution of *α* for *η* may imply derivation of the parallel forms from a common form, but it may equally be the result of the adaptation of Homeric words to Arcadian pronunciation. The use of *νυ* is more significant. Only in Arcadian is it used to strengthen the article. When it occurs in Cypriote (Idalian Bronze, 6, *ἐ δυφανοι νυ*, and 16, *ἐ δοκοι νυ*) and in Boeotian (*I.G.* VII. 3172, 87, *τῇ οὐπεραμερήνῃ ἀκουρύ νυ ἐνθω*) it is used just as it is in Homer, but in Arcadian it is used in a different way, which requires some other explanation than mere imitation of Homer.

When we examine the meaning of words, the differences between Homer and Arcadian become more pronounced. *Ἀπύω* in its Ionic form *ἡπύω* is common in Homer. He uses *ἡπύει* (Ξ 399, κ 83, ρ 271), *ἡπυνεν* (ι 399), the noun *ἡπυντα* (H 384), and the compound adjective *βριήπυνος* (N 521). The lexicographers, scholiasts, and grammarians are agreed about the meaning of *ἡπύω* and its derivatives. Scholiast Q on κ 83 says *ἡπύει· προσαγορεύει, φωνεῖ*, and Eustathius on the same passage gives *ἡπύει, ὃ ἐστι προσφωνεῖ*. Hesychius explains *βριήπυνος* as *μεγαλόφωνος*, and the Townleian

¹ Compare other datives in *I.G.* V. 2: Πολυ- Τιμοσθένι 415. 5. κρέτι 6. 78; Μεγακλῆ 6. 73; Ιερῆ 6. 59, 61, 72, 100;

Scholiast on H 384 uses the same word to explain ἦπυτα; both the scholiasts of Ven. B. and Townleian on N 521 describe βρύπνος as παρεξηλλαγμένον τοῦ βοῆν ἀγαθός. All the evidence then points to ἦπύω in Homer meaning primarily 'speak,' 'address,' and thence 'cry out,' nor is there anything in the actual Homeric passages to invalidate this interpretation. In the sense of 'cry out' the word ἀπύω survives in Pindar and in all three tragedians, and once it is used by Aristophanes. A possible exception is Sophocles, *Ajax* 887, τίς ἄν μοι . . . τὸν ὠμόθυμον . . . ἀπύοι, where the scholiast explains ἀπύοι as εἰποι; but there is no real difficulty, as the passage clearly means 'Who will call out his name?' This meaning of 'cry out' is found in Pindar, *O.* 1, 116, *P.* 2, 36, 5, 140, and 10, 6; in Aeschylus, *P.V.* 593, *Septem* 144, and *Persae* 124; in Euripides, *Hec.* 154, *Or.* 1253, *Bacch.* 984, *Tro.* 1304, and *Rhesus* 776. Its common use in tragic diction exposed it to the wit of Aristophanes, who used it mock-tragically in *Knights* 1023, ἐγὼ μὲν εἶμ' ὁ κύνων· πρὸ σοῦ γὰρ ἀπύω. In the fifth century the word had a high, literary air: it was avoided in the iambic parts of tragedy, and practically confined to choruses and lyric poetry. Only in the *Rhesus* is it used in tragic iambs. Its use did not enter into common speech, and when Heraclides Ponticus (Athenaeus, III. 98) draws attention to the linguistic peculiarities of Alexarchus, he gives as an instance of his διάλεκτοι ἱδιαί his use of the uncommon word ἀπύτης for the common κήρυξ. So it seems certain that in the fifth century ἀπύω was a poetical word, and no more, in the more civilized parts of Greece. But in Arcadia the situation is quite different. In the fourth century law about public works from Tegea (*I.G.* V. 2. 6, 3) we find ἀπύεσθω δ' ὁ ἀδικημένος τὸν ἀδικέντα, where we must translate 'let the man who is wronged summon to trial the man who wrongs him.' In Arcadian, then, ἀπύω possesses a meaning which it shares neither with the ἦπύω of Homer nor with the ἀπύω of the lyrists and tragedians.

Ἀρτύω is used by Homer of 'devising' and of 'making.' It has for object γάμον (δ 771), πῆμα (γ 152), δόλον (λ 439), δλεθρον (π 448), θάνατόν τε μόνον τε (ν 242), and it also describes Hephaestus making οὔατα for his tripods.¹ Its use is correctly explained by Scholiasts T and V on Σ 379 as ἤρτυε· ἡτοίμαζε, and by Scholiast V on δ 771 as ἀρτύει· παρασκευάζει, and by Suidas as ἀρτύειν· σκευάζειν καὶ ἀρτύνοντες· παρασκευάζοντες. When Herodotus writes (*I.* 12. 1.) ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, he is using the word in the epic sense. Traces of the same sense can be found in Sophocles' use of ἀρτύματα for the preparations for sacrifice in his *Phineus*, but elsewhere ἀρτύω and its derivatives mean either 'arrange' or 'leave by will.' The second sense can be seen in the Bronze Tablets from Heraclea (*I.G.* XIV. 645. 1, 106), in Hesychius' entry ἀρτυμα· διαθηκὴ, and the remark of some of the manuscripts of Suidas ἀρτυλία ἢ διαθήκη . . . The first sense occurs in several forms. The Gortyn Code XII. 32 has καὶ τὰν ἐγκαρπίαν ἀρτέιν: in Argos there were officers called ἀρτύναι, and the decree of the Temple of Minerva treats of τὸν(ς) συναρτύνοντας along with τὰν Βολάν: in Thera was an official called ἀρτυτήρ (*I.G.* XII. 3. 330, 144, and 169), and in Epidaurus the βουλευταί were called ἀρτυνοί (Plutarch, *Moralia* 291e). This sense of 'arrange' comes out also in Arcadian: in the Tegean Temple Regulations, l. 27, we find τὸς Ἱερ(ομνάμ)ονας ἀρτέν τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἱπολαῖς πάντα—'the hieromnemones shall arrange everything in the markets.' Ἀρτύω then possesses in Arcadian a meaning different from its Homeric meaning.

Homer uses ἔρπειν three times in the sense of 'crawl.'² Both Aeschylus and Sophocles use it in the sense of 'approach,' and in this sense it is used in Arcadian. The Tegean Law at Delphi has (*l.* 54) καθέρπονσι in the sense of 'return,' an inscription of the second century (*I.G.* V. 2. 510, 5) has εἰς φάτραν ἔρπειν ὁποῖαν ἂν βόληται, and a Sacred Law from Lycosura (*I.G.* V. 2. 514, 3) has μὴ ἐξέστω παρέρπηγν ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερὸν τὰς Δεσποῖνας. As both the last two inscriptions are not in Arcadian

¹ Σ 379.² *P.* 447, *p.* 158, *μ.* 395.

proper, and as the word and its compounds occur in Cretan (Collitz-Bechtel, *G.D. I.* 5075, 32, ἔρποιεν; 5075, 80, ἐφέρπη; 5040, 54 and 5075, 42, ἐρπόντων; 5040, 33 and 35, 5041, 3, ἐρπέτω; 5040, 54, 5100, 8, ἐρπόντας), and in Messenian at Andania (*I.G. V.* 1. 1390, παρέρπητω), to say nothing of Coronea (Schwyzer, 503a, 18), it might well be thought that it is a West Greek word which has only strayed into Arcadian, but the existence of the word in Cypriote is proved by Hesychius' entry ἐς πόθ' ἔρπες· πόθεν ἦκει, and Cypriote may reasonably be acquitted of any charge of West Greek influence. So ἔρπειν is most probably an old word, indigenous to Arcadian and to old Greek.

Ἀσκηθής is used seven times by Homer in the singular (K 212, Π 247, ε 26, 144, 168, ι 79) and once in the nominative plural (ξ 255 ἀσκηθέες καὶ ἀνουςοί). The lexicographers and scholiasts vary in their choice of words to explain its meaning. Sometimes it is interpreted as ὑγής (Schol. Town. on Π 247, Schol. V. on ξ 255, Suidas): sometimes more precisely as ὑγής ἐξ ἐπιμελείας (Hesychius, Schol. V. on ε 26) and sometimes as ἀβλαβής (Schol. E. on ε 26, Schol. B. on ε 144, Schol. V. on ξ 255, Hesychius, Eustathius 799, 25, Suidas). Its meaning, then, is 'safe and sound,' and in this sense it is used in post-Homeric verse by Antimachus, Solon, and Apollonius Rhodius. Its use in more colloquial language may be inferred from the statement of the Townleian Scholiast (on ε 26) and Eustathius (1058, 27) that it is a λέξις Αἰτωλῶν. Eustathius gives οἱ παλαιοί as his authority for the statement, and, if οἱ παλαιοί means, as it well may, the Alexandrian critics, the Aetolian use of ἀσκηθής is put back to a reasonably early date. The Aetolian use may prepare us for the Arcadian, though it gives no hint of the peculiar meaning of ἀσκηθής in Arcadian. In the Tegean Temple Regulations (*I.G. V.* 2. 3, 5) among the paragraphs dealing with the rights of pasturage in the district of Alea round the temple, we find the following clause—τὸν Ἱεροθύταν νέμεν ἐν Ἀλᾷ ὅτι ἂν ἀσκηθὲς ἔ τὰ δ' ἀνασκεθεῖα ἰνφορβίεν. This may be translated: 'The Hierothytes (i.e. a minor temple-official) may pasture in Alea animals without blemish, but for those not without blemish there shall be a pasture-tax.' Once again Arcadian uses a Homeric and poetical word, but uses it in a specialized semi-technical sense, quite different from its ordinary sense in Homer and Attic poetry.

On three occasions Homer uses the adjective ἐκατόμβοιος; in B 449 he uses it of each golden tassel on the aegis of Athene, in Z 236 of the armour of Glaucus, and in Φ 79 of the price paid for Lycaon in Lemnos. Its meaning, which the lexicographers do not dispute, is 'worth a hundred oxen.' In Arcadia we find Ἐκοτόνβοια as the name of a feast of Zeus (*I.G. V.* 2. 142, 19, and 23), and Hesychius has the entry Ἐκατόμβαιος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν Γορτύνῃ καὶ παρ' Ἀρκασι καὶ Κρήσιν: so probably the Ἐκοτόνβοια was the feast of Zeus Ἐκοτόνβοιος or Ἐκατόμβοιος. In any case Ἐκοτόνβοιος in Arcadian does not mean 'worth a hundred oxen' as ἐκατόμβοιος does in Homer.

These last five words (it therefore appears), ἀπύω, ἀρτύω, ἔρπειν, ἀσκηθής, and Ἐκοτόνβοια, are nearly related to words used by Homer, but their sense is not the sense of their Homeric counterparts. It is especially noteworthy that in Arcadian ἀπύω and ἀσκηθής have a special meaning, which must have been understood by those who read them in their inscriptions. This divergence of meaning must dispose of any theory which assumes that these words were lifted out of the Homeric poems to give a high air to the inscriptions. Official documents need some measure of clarity, which could hardly have been secured by the use of poetical words meaning something quite different from what the officials meant to convey. It is easier to believe that the words existed already with their special meanings in Arcadian, and were used for that reason.

III.

So much for differences. The similarities are more numerous. In one case Arcadian provides an example of a word which elsewhere is found only once in Homer.¹ Homer in ζ 242 has—

πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ δὴ μοι δεικέλιος δέατ' εἶναι

And the Scholiasts explain δέατο variously as ἐδόκει, ἔδοξε, and ἐφαινετο: Eustathius (561. 29) paraphrases as ἐδόκει. Δέατο, then, means 'seemed.' The word is not found elsewhere in Greek literature, but Hesychius seems to have found it somewhere in the present tense, as he has the entry δέαται· δοκεῖ; where he found it we do not know. In Arcadian this rare word seems to have been used in ordinary language. In the Tegean Law about Public Works it occurs three times (*I.G.* V. 2. 6): l. 10, εἰκ ἂν δέατοί σφεις πόλεμος ἦναι ὁ κωλύων; l. 18, ζαμιόντω οἱ ἐσδοτήρες δοται ἂν δέατοί σφεις ζαμίαι; and l. 46, εἰ δ' ἂν τις . . . ἐπηρεύαζεν δέατοι ἰν τὰ ἔργα. In each case δέατοι is the third person sing. or pl. of the present subjunctive of δέαμαι, the perished verb from which Homer's δέατο came. A fourth-century inscription from Arcadian Orchomenus (*I.G.* V. 2. 343, 24) has ὁπόθ' ἂν δεα . . . τοι ἀμφοτέροις, where the mutilated word has been plausibly emended to δέασητοι, the aorist subjunctive of the same word.² δοκέω has not yet appeared on an Arcadian inscription, and δέαμαι is the only word yet found in Arcadian meaning 'seem.' So it probably is the ordinary, regular word for 'seem.' In any case it cannot be pirated from Homer. No sane man, wishing to express the simple idea of 'seem' to a not too cultivated audience, would use a word which occurs so very rarely in Greek.

Like δέατο in being common to Homeric and Arcadian, and in being excluded from Attic prose and most inscriptions, but unlike it in their use in poetry of a good date, are ἀέλιος, κέλευθος and possibly λεύσσοντες. Homer uses ἥελιος constantly both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. It is used too by Hesiod and Mimnermus, and in the form ἀέλιος by Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Callimachus, etc.³ In Arcadian we find it in a Fourth Century Law from Tegea (*I.G.* V. 2. 4, 12), μέστ' ἂν ἀέλιος ὄν(τέλλοι?). It is true that in an inscription from Megalopolis (*I.G.* V. 2. 443, 40) the correct reading may be τὰν π(ρος ἄλιον) ἀ(νατέλλοντα), but not only is the reading of ἄλιον problematical, the inscription is of the second century before Christ and not in the Arcadian dialect at all. So, as far as our evidence goes, there is no reason for thinking that ἀέλιος was not the ordinary Arcadian word for 'sun.'

Κέλευθος, too, is a favourite word of Homer, Pindar and the tragedians. It does not occur in dialect inscriptions outside Arcadia or anywhere in Attic prose. Plato in the *Cratylus*⁴ uses the compound ὁμοκέλευθος, but he is playing at etymology, and ὁμοκέλευθος seems as unreal a word as ὁμόκοιτις with which it is coupled. The poetic character of κέλευθος is made clear by the way in which Aristophanes uses it in mock-tragic language. Out of the very mouth of Euripides it comes (*Thesm.* 1100):

διὰ μέσον γὰρ αἰθέρος
τέμνων κέλευθον πόδα τίθημ' ὑπόπετρον . . .

In the Tegean Temple Regulations (*I.G.* V. 2. 3, 23) we find εἰκ' ἂν παραμάζενε θύσθεν τὰς κελε(ύθ)ο τὰς κακειμέναν κατ' Αλέαν, which means something like 'if any one drives out off the high road leading to Alea.' This inscription was cut about B.C. 390: no other Arcadian inscription has any word for 'road' before the long

¹ Wackernagel in *Glotta* VII. (p. 221) thinks δόσασατο in Homer is corrupt for δέσασατο, but his view is very uncertain.

² A Mantinean Inscription (*I.G.* V. 2. 262, 23) probably reads δέατοι, not εἶατοι, which F. Hiller von Gärtringen gives.

³ Cf., too, the archaic forms in Cretan (Hesychius, ἀβελιον· ἥλιον, Κρήτες) and in Pamphylian (Eustathius 1654. 19, quoting Heraclides, τὸ γοῦν φάος φάβος λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀέλιος βαβέλιος, and Hesychius, ἀβελίην· ἥλιακόν, Παμφύλιοι).

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second-century inscription from Mantinea (*I.G. V. 2. 444*) which twice (ll. 11 and ? 18) has ὁδός, but this inscription is not in Arcadian but in κοινή. So, as far as we have evidence, κέλευθος is the Arcadian for 'road.'

The verb λείσσω, 'I see,' is used both in the *Iliad* (II 127, E 771, Y 346, T 19, Γ 110, A 120, Π 70) and the *Odyssey* (θ 171, 200, ζ 157, ψ 124). Hesiod (*Op.* 250) and the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (l. 34) use it too: so also Pindar and the tragedians commonly. Again Aristophanes shows its tragic air, both in his parody of the *Andromeda* (*Thesm.* 1052) and in his quotation (*Frogs* 992) of the opening lines of the *Myrmidones* of Aeschylus. Neither Attic prose nor dialect inscriptions know it, but it is the only word for 'see' which survives in Arcadian. A Tegean decree of B.C. 221 (*I.G. V. 2. 16, 10*) shows the words ὅπως καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λείσοντες τὰν τὰς πόλιος ἐ(ν)χαριστίαν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνονται, and the list of Γλώσσαι κατὰ Πόλεις, in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, pp. 1094-6, gives Κλειτορίων . . . Λεύσει, ὅρα. The double evidence substantiates the Arcadian use of the word.

IV.

Of the Arcadian words, which we are considering, αἶσα, ἄμαρ, βόλομαι, δῶμα, and εὐχολά occur also in Cypriote. The close affinity of Arcadian and Cypriote is no longer disputable: tradition and probability agree in assigning the Greek colonization of Cyprus to 'Achaean' from the Peloponnese,¹ and in relating it to the group of political upheavals which took place μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά. Intercourse between Cyprus and the Peloponnese cannot have been extensive or influential during the dark ages: still less can the Arcadians, cut off from their sea-board by the Dorians, have had any real relations with their kinsmen in Cyprus. So, if Cypriote shows real linguistic affinity to Arcadian, the causes of this affinity must lie in the original identity of the two dialects, and such an identity can only have existed before the Greek colonization of Cyprus and centuries before any existing intelligible inscriptions. Arcadian resembles Cypriote in various points of syntax and word-formation: so it is not surprising to find a certain identity of vocabulary.

αἶσα is used by Homer in the sense of 'share' both with ἐλπίδος (π 101, τ 84) and with ληίδος (Σ 327, ε 40, ν 138): elsewhere it means 'fate.' The sense of 'share' is used by Pindar in *P. IX. 99*, χθόνος αἶσαν, and lies possibly at the back of Hesychius' entry, κατ' αἶαν· κατὰ τὸ πρέπον. Elsewhere αἶσα in the sense of 'share' is found in Cypriote, Arcadian, and Argive. Two inscriptions from Tegea, both rather fragmentary, seem to read αἶσαν ἐφ' ἱερῇ (*I.G. V. 2. 40, 43*, and 41, 17). An inscription from Mantinea reads πέμπειν δὲ αὐταὶ καὶ αἶσαν ὡσαύτως (*I.G. V. 2. 265, 33*), referring to a share in a feast: and another from Mantinea (269, 26 and 28) refers to a similar share. Cypriote (Hoffman, 148. 2) shows the same use in an inscription written in the Cypriote syllabary, which may be transliterated as τῶ Δίος τῶ Φοίνω αἶσα, 'a portion of wine, sacred to Zeus.' The same use of the word can be seen in Argive, in a treaty between the two Cretan cities of Cnossus and Tylissus with Argos for mediator: this inscription was cut about B.C. 450 (Schwyzer No. 84) and reads συνβάλλεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐκ Τυλισοῦ τὰν ψάφον τὰν τρίταν αἶσαν, 'the third part of the votes.'²

The actual word βόλομαι is not found in Homer, but βόλεται is, and so too are ἐβόλοντο and βόλεσθε (α 234, π 387). The same verb is found regularly in Arcadian; βόλετοι (*I.G. V. 2. 3, 9*), βόλητοι (*I.G. V. 2.*, Delphic Inscription, l. 46), βόληται (*I.G. V. 2. 510, 5*), and βολόμενος (*I.G. V. 2. 6, 24*). Traces of its use in Cypriote

¹ Hdt. V. 113; Paus. VIII. 5. 2; Strabo XIV. 682; Lycophron 586 sqq.; Hesychius 'Ἀχαιομάν-τεϊς'; Steph. Byz. Γολγοί and Λακεδαίμων.

² Cf. also Bekker, *Anec. Graec.*, p. 1095,

Ἀργείων· αἶσα· μοῖρα, and Hegesandrus ap. Ath. VIII. 368, τὴν συμβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια ὑπὸ τῶν πινόντων εἰσφερομένην Ἀργεῖοι χῶν καλέουσι, τὴν δὲ μερίδα αἶσαν.

can be seen in Hesychius' entry, *σί βόλε· τί θέλεις· Κύπριοι*, but it is found also at Oropus (*I.G.* XII. 9. 189, fourth century), at Eretria (Collitz-Bechtel, *G.D.I.* 5315), and in the curious archaic dialect of Pamphylia, where *ὁ βολέμενος* is the local form of *ὁ βουλόμενος* (Schwyzer, 686. 13).

Δῶμα in the sense of 'house' occurs commonly in Homer, and commonly, too, in the tragedians. The plural is perhaps commoner than the singular, and *δῶματα* is one of the commoner words in Aristophanes' imitations of tragic style (*Ach.* 479 and 1072, *Thesm.* 871). Herodotus uses the plural once (*II.* 62. 1), perhaps in direct reminiscence of the epic style, but neither singular nor plural is found in Attic prose or in inscriptions outside Arcadia and Cyprus. In Cypriote *δῶμα* is found in the sense of 'temple' (Sacral Inscription from Jastrika,¹ l. 16), and it bears the same sense in the Tegean Temple regulations (*I.G.* V. 2. 3; 21, *εἰς ἐπὶ δῶμα πῦρ ἐποίησε δνδδεκο δαρχμὰς ὀφλέν*, 'if any man sets fire to the temple, he shall incur a fine of twelve drachmae').

Εὐχολή is used by Homer in two meanings—'a boast' and 'a prayer.' In the first sense it is found in B 160, 176, Δ 173, θ 229, X 433: in the second in A 65, 93, Δ 450, θ 64, λ 34; and in this sense it occurs in Hesiod, *Sc.* 68. Both Arcadian and Cypriote use it in the sense of 'prayer.' A fifth-century inscription from Mantinea (*I.G.* V. 2. 262, 24) has *εὐχολὰ* (δ') *ἄδε ἔ(σ)τοι τοῖ ἀλιτέραιοι* (?)—'the sinner (?) shall have this imprecation.' In Cyprus a fifth-century dedication to Apollo Hylates has *eukola*, i.e. *εὐχολά*, 'a prayer' (Hoffmann I. 94), and a dedication by King Milcijathon to Apollo Amyclaeus (Hoffmann I. 134) shows 'apoivoi tase eukolase epetuke,' i.e. *ἀφ' οἱ Φοι τῆς εὐχολᾶς ἐπέτυχε*, 'by whose help he got his prayer.' This use of *εὐχολή* is not confined to Arcadian and Cypriote. It occurs also in Ionic. A fifth-century sherd from Naucratis (Schwyzer, 748) has . . . *ρμης με ἀνέθηκε τήφροδότην εὐχολήν*, and a stone from Erythrae, also of the fifth century (Schwyzer, 699), has *Φανόδικος ὁ Φιλήτω ἀ(ν)έθηκεν εὐχ(λ)ήν ὑπ' ἐρ' ἑαυτοῦ*. Herodotus speaks of the Egyptians as *εὐχολὰς ἐπιτελέοντες* and as *εὐχολιμαῖοι* (*II.* 63), and Pollux has the entry *εὐχολιμαῖα· εὐκταῖα*. The Ionian use of the word is made even clearer by its use in Protagoras' four-fold division of speech into *εὐχολή*, *ἐρώτησις*, *ἀπόκρισις*, and *ἐντολή* (*Diog. Laert.* IX. 50): Aristotle, writing plain Attic prose, substituted *εὐχή* for *εὐχολή* when he made his more careful and comprehensive analysis (*Poetics* XIX. 11).

This identity of vocabulary in Arcadian and Cypriote cannot easily be explained by the hypothesis that both dialects copied Homer. If both copied him independently, they would not have hit on the same words. It is more likely that these words were used without collusion, because they lay ready to hand in either dialect, and were drawn ultimately from a common origin.

There is, however, one instance of which this statement seems not to be true. Twice in Arcadian we find the phrase *ἄματα πάντα* (*I.G.* V. 2. 2, 5 and 262, 22), and we might at first sight think that here we have a genuine use of the Homeric *ἦμαρ*. Our confidence might be increased on remembering that *ἄμαρ* occurs in Cypriote: so why not in Arcadian? But on closer inspection *ἄματα πάντα* looks very suspicious. First, the regular Arcadian for 'day' is not *ἄμαρ* but *ἡμέρα*. **ἄμαρ* in the singular is not found at all, but *ἡμέρα* is found often (*I.G.* V. 2. 3. 9, 13, 16; 6. 4; 357. 75, 149, 159. Delphic Inscription, 25 sqq.). Secondly, *ἄματα πάντα* is not a word but a phrase, and a hackneyed phrase at that. It occurs, as *ἡματα πάντα*, nine times in the *Iliad* and thirty-three times in the *Odyssey* and *Hymns*. Hesiod uses it four times in the *Theogony* (305, 301, 647, 955), and the elegists commonly. It is found, too, in an Acarnanian inscription (*I.G.* IX. 1. 484, 5). In an Aetolian inscription of the third century (Schwyzer, 381, 26) we find the curious phrase *συμμαχία Αἰτωλοῖς, καὶ Ἀκαρνάνοις ἄματα τὸν πάντα χρόνον*, which looks like a confusion of *ἄματα πάντα* and

¹ Cf. Meister, *Sitzungsber. berl. Akad.*, 1910, p. 151.

τὸν πάντα χρόνον. The probability, then, is that ἄματα πάντα is almost a ritual phrase meaning 'always.' Certainly the Aetolian writer did not understand it, and only used it because he found ἄματα vaguely impressive. It is likely that in Arcadian also ἄματα πάντα is not a natural phrase, but a literary cliché derived from a common use in Greek poetry.

V.

Of the words we have examined there is, apart from ἄματα, not one which cannot reasonably be thought to have been used independently of Homer, and it seems worth while to summarize results so far. Of the Homeric words in Arcadian most seem to be independent of Homeric influence for the following reasons:

1. Some are used in a sense or in a construction not found in Homer, and the variations are too great to allow a belief in their being copied from Homer. To this class belong ἀπύω, ἀρτύω, ἀσκηθής, ἔρπειν, Ἐκοτόνβοια and the particle νν.

2. Others may at first sight look like poetical words, but actually they are the only words with that particular meaning in Arcadian, and are probably the regular Arcadian words used to express that meaning. To this class belong ἀέλιος, δέατο, κέλευθος, and λεύσοντας.

3. Certain words found in Homer and in Arcadian are found also in Cypriote. Such a coincidence seems to show that they are indigenous to both dialects and derived from a common source. To this class belong αἶσα, βόλομαι, ἄμαρ, δῶμα, and εὐχολά.

There are still a few words whose independence of Homer must remain doubtful for the present. These are πλός, μέστα, and ἡκόντα. Πλός cannot certainly be connected with the Homeric πλέες, and Homer's μέσφ' (θ 508) is not more like the Arcadian μέστα (*I.G.* V. 2. 4, 12 and 6, 30) than the Cretan μέστα (*Gortyn Law IX.* 48). ἡκόντα (*I.G.* V. 2. 3, 14) may well be the genuine Arcadian word for 'coming,' but as yet there is no proof either that it is or that it is not.

VI.

The inscriptions still yield a few more scraps of evidence about Homeric language. Both in proper names and in some usages Arcadian recalls Homer. Among proper names we find the Homeric adjective Ἐπήρατος three times in an inscription from Mantinea dating from the third or second century (*I.G.* V. 2. 319), and at Delphi we find Ἐπήρατος, Ἀλκίνον, Ἀρκάς, but the name is common enough elsewhere and little can be proved by its occurrence in Arcadia. More significant is the appearance of the name Ἀρχέσιος in a list of δαμιοργοί at Tegea (*I.G.* V. 2. 1, 26), belonging to the fourth century. Hoffmann rightly saw in -εσιος the same root as in the Homeric ἐψιάσθων (ρ 530) and ἐψιάσθαι (φ 429), meaning 'amuse oneself.'¹ Again, when Odysseus finds his father in the vineyard, he tells him that he is a man called Ἐπήριτος (ω 306). Now Xenophon (*Hell.* VII. 4. 32) speaks of picked troop of the Arcadians called ἐπάριτοι, 'picked men,'² and probably the same word lies behind the entries in Hesychius (ἐπαρόητοι· τάγμα Ἀρκαδικόν μαχιμώτατον) and Stephanus of Byzantium (Ἐπαρίτοι· ἔθνος Ἀρκαδίας, quoting the authority of Xenophon, Ephorus, and Androktion). These 'picked men' were called by the name which Odysseus chose for himself.³

In usage Arcadian resembles Homeric Greek in one or two points. Homer often uses the phrase θηλύτεραι γυναῖκες where θηλύτεραι is more a comparative in

¹ For the survival of -εσιος elsewhere cf. *Dem.* 24. 134, Φιλέσιος Δαμπτρεύς. I owe this and some other references to Mr. R. McKenzie.

² It is worth noticing the language of Diodorus

(XV. 67. 2) describing the same events. Ἀρκάδες δὲ Λυκομήδην στρατηγὸν προχειρισάμενοι καὶ παραδόντες αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπὶλέκτους.

³ Ἐπαρίτος is found as proper name at Cyme.

form than in meaning. Precisely parallel is the use in a Mantinean Inscription (*I.G.* V. 2. 262, 21 and 27) of the phrase τὸρρέντερον (i.e. τὸ ἄρρέντερον) γένος. It is worth noting that in the same way an Elean inscription (*Schwyzler*, 424, 2) uses comparatives in the phrase μάτε ἔρσεναιτέραν μάτε θηλυτέραν. Another similarity exists in the use of compound prepositions. Homer uses διέκ, παρέκ, and ὑπέκ: Arcadian uses ἐπὶς (= ἐπέξ) in the Tegean Law about public works, l. 54, ταὶ ἐπὶς τοῖ ἔργοι γεγραμμένοι συγγράφοι, and three times in the Delphic Inscription, l. 9, ἐπὶς δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις μίαν ἔχεν, l. 21, ἐπὶς δὲ ταῖς παναγορίαις . . . τὰν πόλιν βωλεύσασθαι, l. 26, δικάσασθαι ἐπὶς τοῖς πάμασι, and ll. 37 sqq., ἐπὶς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι . . . τὰ μὲν . . . ἃ πόλιν διωρθώσατον, . . . ἀπνύδωτω.

Both Ἀρχέψιος and τὸρρέντερον γένος are explicable by reference to Homer, but neither is an imitation of Homer. Both are examples of the sort of Greek which Homer used, though actually he used neither. That they are genuinely archaic, and not mere archaisms, is proved by the archaic character of Arcadian in many other respects. A dialect which used ἐξελαύνωια (*I.G.* V. 2. 343, 65) in the present optative active would not find τὸρρέντερον γένος at all peculiar: still less would it shrink from embodying an old root in a proper name like Ἀρχέψιος.

VII.

Our conclusion, then, is that Arcadian in classical times still preserved certain features of vocabulary and usage which Homer also used. With very few exceptions these features are not imitations of Homer but genuine, indigenous Arcadian, surviving intact from earlier times, when the Greek dialects were not yet fully differentiated from one another, and acquiring consequently in some cases characters different from those they once had. The ancient character of these words is shown by their occasional survival in other dialects, and especially in the isolated dialect of Cyprus. Their bearing on the Homeric question is not unimportant. The language of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with its enormous variety of synonyms and alternative forms must have been compounded of many elements: one of the elements survived in Arcadian.

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PLATO, *PHAEDO*, 80 c.

Ἐννοεῖς οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπειδὴν ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τὸ μὲν ὁρατὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν ὁρατῷ κείμενον, ὃ δὴ νεκρὸν καλοῦμεν, ᾧ προσήκει διαλύεσθαι καὶ διαπίπτειν καὶ διαπνεύσθαι, οὐκ εὐθὺς τούτων οὐδὲν πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεικῶς συχρὸν ἐπιμένει χρόνον, ἐὰν μὲν τις καὶ χαριέντως ἔχων τὸ σῶμα τελευτήσῃ καὶ ἐν τοιαύτῃ ὥρᾳ, καὶ πάννυ μάλ' α· συμπεσὼν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ταριχευθὲν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ταριχευθέντες, ὀλίγον ὄλον μένει ἀμήχανον ὅσον χρόνον, ἔνια δὲ μέρη τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἂν σαπῇ, ὅστ' α· τε καὶ νεύρα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, ὅμως ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀθάνατά ἐστιν ἢ οὐ;

On the passage spaced Archer-Hind writes: 'It seems to me that needless difficulty has been raised over this sentence; χαριέντως ἔχων simply means "having his body in a good state," and to this τοιαύτῃ refers. If the body were in a healthy condition at death and at a healthy age, it would hold out longer, says Plato, against decomposition. Mr. Cope, I think, is quite correct in translating "If a man dies with his body in a vigorous state and at a vigorous period of his life, a very considerable time indeed." The following sentence συμπεσὼν . . . χρόνον is bracketed by Schanz after Ast. I see no sufficient reason for doing so; the γάρ is certainly not very obvious but may be explained thus; (nor is this the strongest case) for if a body is embalmed it remains nearly whole for an indefinite time. Hirschig brackets ὥσπερ . . . ταριχευθέντες very superfluously. Plato says (i.) the body of a healthy man who dies in the prime of life lasts a good while; (ii.) an Egyptian mummy lasts an indefinite time; (iii.) even without this some parts of the human frame are almost indestructible.'

I have quoted this commentary at length because it brings out several points. First, many critics have suspected interpolation here, owing to the inconsequent comparison of the body of one who dies in the vigour of youth with Egyptian mummies. Secondly, in spite of Archer-Hind's ingenious defence (which is, I believe, true to the logic of the passage if the text is correctly restored), with the present reading the γάρ remains intolerably harsh. Thirdly, from the standpoint of fact the example is not a natural one, since the bodies of those who die in the full vigour of life do not afford the best examples of slow decomposition. From what I can discover in medical text-books rather the reverse appears to be true. If we turn to Prof. Burnet's commentary fresh difficulties appear. He annotates the passage as follows:

χαριέντως ἔχων, equivalent to καλῶς or εὖ ἔχων [comparing μετρίως and ἐπεικῶς ἔχειν]. There is no suggestion of gracefulness but only of εὐεξία or good condition.

[I may note here that Liddell and Scott explain similarly, rendering 'in good case.' The phrase occurs elsewhere in Plato with its proper meaning as I will show later in this paper. For the meaning attributed to it here Plato uses ὑγιεινῶς ἔχειν in *Rep.* 407 c and 571 d. I am indebted to the late Prof. Platt for calling my attention to Plato's use of ὑγιεινῶς ἔχειν.]

ἐν τοιαύτῃ ὥρᾳ 'at a fine season of the year' (τοιαύτῃ standing for καλῇ implied in χαριέντως, Riddell, *Dig.* § 14). Decomposition is more rapid in summer than in winter. Most recent editors understand the phrase to mean 'in the bloom of youth,' but (i.) ἐν ὥρᾳ without τοιαύτῃ would be sufficient for this, cf. *Meno* 76b, 8, *Phaedr.* 240d 7, *Rep.* 474d 4; and (ii.) when ὥρα is mentioned in connexion with death it means not youthful bloom but a ripe old age, cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 968, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν

ὁραίῳ γὰρ ἴσταμαι βίον, | θνήσκειν ἔτοιμος. On the other hand, one who dies in early youth is said to die πρὸ ὥρας or ἄωρος. The latter word is common in sepulchral inscriptions.

συμπεσόν 'reduced to bone and muscle,' 'emaciated.' This clause justifies the preceding εἰν μὲν τις κ.τ.λ. An emaciated body remains almost entire for an inconceivable time, and even a body in good condition lasts quite a long time. For συμπίπτειν, cf. Herodotus III. 52, ἀσιτίῃσι συμπεπτωκότα. In medical writers σύμπτωσις is technical for emaciation.

It will be noticed that Prof. Burnet in the last note scarcely gives a satisfactory explanation of γάρ, and is forced to give a strained meaning to the words ἐν τοιαύτῃ ὥρᾳ because of the preceding phrase χαριέντως ἔχων, which is itself given a sense which occurs nowhere else in Plato. Elsewhere it has its proper meaning of 'elegantly,' 'gracefully,' or 'with skill or knowledge'—e.g. *Prot.* 344B, πᾶν γὰρ χαριέντως καὶ μεμελημένως ἔχει (τὰ ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι εἰρημμένα). *Rep.* I. 331, χαριέντως γὰρ τοι . . . τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν ὅτι κ.τ.λ. In *Ep.* 360c . . . μαθητῆς δὲ Εὐδόξου καὶ περὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου πᾶν χαριέντως ἔχων, the phrase has the meaning 'having a fine knowledge of all his doctrines' [vide Ast, *Plat. Lex.* s.v.]. Moreover, could the words ἐν τοιαύτῃ ὥρᾳ be given the meaning 'in old age' which Prof. Burnet admirably shows is their appropriate one in connexion with death, the logic of the passage is immediately restored and γάρ becomes natural, since the mention of old age leads up to the notion of a withered and emaciated body of which the Egyptian mummy is the supreme example. Everything seems to suggest that χαριέντως is corrupt, and that it has displaced something that would imply old age. I would suggest that the passage should read: εἰν μὲν τις καὶ ξηρὸν ἐν τὸς ἔχων τὸ σῶμα τελευτήσῃ κ.τ.λ.

By this alteration the unparalleled use of χαριέντως ἔχων disappears, ὥρα gets its proper meaning of 'old age,' the sequence of thought indicated by γάρ is restored and from a physiological point of view the statement is perfectly accurate, since the emaciation of old age is what causes the body of an aged person to resist decomposition. Cf. Dr. Husband's *Students' Handbook of Forensic Medicine*, chapter on Putrefaction: 'Fat and flabby corpses putrefy more rapidly than the lean and emaciated. Hence old people who are generally thin keep fresh for a comparatively long time.' We may render the text restored as above: 'If when a man dies he has moreover (καὶ) the interior of his body wasted, and is at the ripe age when this is natural (τοιαύτῃ) his body lasts a very considerable time.'

ἐν τὸς is frequent of the inner parts of the body—e.g. *Prot.* 334c, *Thuc.* II. 49, τὰ δὲ ἐν τὸς οὕτως ἐκαίετο.

For ξηρός in the sense of 'wasted' cf. Eur. *Electra* 239, οὐκ οὖν ὁρᾷς μου πρῶτον ὡς ξηρὸν δέμας; Palaeographically the corruption arose through the omission of a like syllable ON before EN, ΞΗΡΟΝΕΝΤΟΣ became ΞΗΡΕΝΤΟΣ, which before ἔχων would naturally give rise to χαριέντως in view of Plato's use of the phrase elsewhere. I illustrate the point in capitals since the corruption must date from early times.

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HEKTOR IN BOEOTIA.

THE Thebans have also a grave of Hektor, son of Priam, beside a spring which is called the Spring of Oedipus, and they say that they brought his bones from Ilium in consequence of the following oracle:

"Thebans who dwell in the city of Cadmus,
If you wish your clan to dwell with noble wealth,
Bring to your homes the bones of Hektor, son of Priam,
From Asia and by the command of Zeus worship him as a hero."¹

This is the account given by Pausanias of the cult of Hektor in Thebes. The other principal authority for the cult is the speech of Cassandra in Lykophron's *Alexandra*, in which she prophesies that her brother Hektor shall dwell in Thebes, 'in the Islands of the Blessed,'² and be a Hero, warding off the shafts of pestilence:

νήσοις δὲ μακάρων ἐγκατοικήσεις μέγας
ἦρωσ, ἀρωγὸς λοιμικῶν τοξειμάτων.

Farnell,³ in *Greek Hero Cults*, says that the cult of Hektor is a late and artificial importation, highly discreditable to Thebes, and that it is a curious example of the abiding influence of epic tradition. Bethe has inferred from the Theban grave of Hektor that Hektor was originally a Theban, and that his tale and the names of Mainland warriors killed by him have been transferred by migration of legend until at last they have been naturalized at Troy, and the Boeotian has become the son of the king of Troy and its chief defender.

I should like in this connexion to ask attention to the meaning of the name of Hektor. Fick and Bechtel have been, I believe, the only scholars to note that his name is a short form of the group beginning with Eche-, of which we have, among others, such examples as Echelaos, Echepolis, and Ehekles. They state in *Personennamen*⁴ that Hektor is shortened from Echepolis, quoting in corroboration of this *Iliad* V. 473:

φῆς που ἄτερ λαῶν πόλιν ἐξέμεν.

There are, however, several other possibilities for the long name, and I have suggested⁵ that the taunt of Sarpedon, if it contains word-play at all, has its point, perhaps, in the word λαῶν rather than in πόλιν ἐξέμεν.

I believe that the name of Hektor is short for Echelaos. Compounds of *-laos* are very frequent in the *Iliad* as names of Trojans, and the grandfather of Hektor is called Laomedon. Further, Echelaos is a name of a deity of the world of shadows, and such chthonian names are frequent in the genealogy of the Trojan kings as we meet the names in the *Iliad* and elsewhere. That chthonian deity was worshipped in Athens as Echelos. The evidence for his cult came to light in 1893, when a beautiful votive slab was discovered with the representation of Echelos carrying off Basile in a chariot, with Hermes as guide. The names were carved above the

¹ Paus. IX. 18. 4.

² Lyk. *Alexandra*, 1189 sqq.

³ *Greek Hero Cults*, 328 sq.

⁴ *Griechische Personennamen*, 389; cf. 122.

⁵ *Troy and Paonia*, 76 sq.

figures on this fifth-century marble slab. Basile was already known as the wife of Neleus, who had a *ἱερόν*¹ with Neleus in Athens.

In Echelos we may recognize the Attic form of the name Echelaos, which, as Malten² has shown, is of the type that is used often for the god of the dead. Hektor is of the North Greek type of short name. The ending *-tor* has been noted by Hoffmann as characteristically Macedonian. Another Athenian deity whose worship has been revealed by inscriptions and monuments, who has a short name of the type of Echelos, is Amynos, a health-deity whose precinct was uncovered in 1893. Koerte remarks about the name that we should expect Amyntor. Both Amynos and Amyntor are short for Amynandros, and the king of the Athamanes of that name is called by the short name Amynas in Polybius IV. 16, 9.

We should have known nothing of Amynos but for the excavations which revealed his precinct and name. The name of Echelos was known from Stephen of Byzantium and Hesychius, but his nature was not known until the relief was discovered. A false derivation from *ἔλος* swamp is given by Stephen and Hesychius, a derivation which Eduard Meyer³ calls etymologically perverse but topographically correct.

Echelos in Athens and Hektor in Thebes were both gods of the dead and the names are both shortenings, one Attic and one of the northern type, from Echelaos. The Attic god was preserved for us by two brief notices and by the Attic relief; Hektor of Thebes passed out of men's memory and was at the end transformed into Hektor, son of Priam.

Dr. Farnell⁴ has noted a similar dying out of the cult of an old deity and its transference to a heroine of the Trojan cycle in the case of the Peloponnesian goddess Alexandra-Kassandra. He says that we have in the cult of Alexandra the worship of a pre-Dorian Laconian goddess of the Artemis type, who had originally nothing to do with the princess of Troy, and that her true cult-name remained unchanged down to a late period. I may add that the name of the goddess of Tegea, Alea, had, as Fougères has shown, originally the same meaning as Alexandra. A scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* IX. 30, says that Hera was worshipped at Sikyon as Alexandra.

Hektor, then, was an appellative of the short form, of a god of death, as Akestor, an appellative of Apollo, is short for Akesandros or Akesphoros.

ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀκέστορ, πημάτων δόις λύσιν.

Eur. *Andromache*, 900.

Doubtless many names of this kind, such as the heroic names Nestor and Kastor, were originally names of deity or seer or priest-king.⁵

The original Hektor in Thebes was Echelaos, of the People of the Shadows, and only in later time, and as Dr. Farnell says, greatly to the discredit of Thebes, was the old death-deity translated into Hektor, the Pillar of Troy.

Τροίας

ἀμαχον, ἀστραβῇ κίονα.

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¹ *C.I.A.* IV. 2, 53a.

² *Das Pferd im Totenglauben, Jahrbuch*, 1914.

³ *Hermes*, 1895, 286-288.

⁴ *Hero Cults*, 329 sqq.

⁵ Halliday, W. R., *Greek Divination*, 54 sqq.

¹ *Eroticon* 1922), pp. 2

² Wilcken

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Egypt, in A 227 sqq.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Wilcken

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.

⁶ *Le Orig*

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE *CHIONE* FRAGMENTS.

NEXT to the *Ninus Romance*, to which more attention has been paid, the most interesting fragments of Greek Romance are the so-called *Chione Fragments*, which have been recently re-edited by Lavagnini.¹ Before discussing the problem of their significance, it is necessary briefly to recapitulate their history.

In the year 1898 Wilcken bought in Egypt a MS. of six leaves, which bore traces of Greek uncials underneath some Coptic script. The first four leaves, it turned out, contained portions of the *Chaereas and Callirhoe* of Charito, while on the last two were written several columns of an unknown romance, which has taken its title from the name *Χιόνη* (col. 2, line 22, Wilcken), who, it has been assumed, was the heroine. Since all six leaves were unfortunately destroyed by fire on the ship at Hamburg, Wilcken's memory and his partial transcription are our only sources of knowledge either of their condition or of their contents.² Wilcken had made a copy of three columns, but was unable to remember in which order they were written.³ The only fact that is certain is that two of the three must have stood side by side on the same surface of one of the two pages. For since Wilcken only attempted to decipher the writing on the flesh side of the parchment, his three columns must have been held by only two surfaces.⁴ But for placing them in the order he does he had no evidence except his opinion founded on the contents. He thought (I use his numbers) that columns 1 and 2 were divided only by the 15 lines which are missing at the end of 1, whereas column 3 belonged to a much later part of the story.⁵ This order was generally adopted until Lavagnini,⁶ altogether objecting to Wilcken's interpretation, and thinking that the three columns were successive, placed them in the order 1, 3, 2, so as to suit his own reconstruction. In this, as has been indicated, he is perfectly justified; the question is whether by so doing he has given a more satisfactory explanation of the contents.

In some respects his objections to Wilcken's interpretation seem certainly right. Wilcken said that the first column contained a discussion between the suitors, who had been given a period of thirty days in which to come to a decision. But Lavagnini rightly asks '*che cosa si farebbero dei trenta giorni?*'⁷ The reference to threats in column 2 surely implies that it was the suitors who had delivered an ultimatum, and that the thirty days were given to Chione and her advisers to enable them to decide which suitor to accept.⁸ Again, it was a very hazardous conjecture of Wilcken's⁹ to supply a proper name out of *Χρῆς* (3. 23), especially when it was known that the infinitive *σκοπεῖν* followed closely (3. 26). Lavagnini's own theory¹⁰ is that we have three consecutive columns in the order 1, 3, 2; that columns 1 and 3 (including the

¹ *Eroticorum Fragmenta Papyracea* (Teubner, 1922), pp. 25-27.

² Wilcken published as full an account of this Theban MS. as he could, together with such columns of the text as he had transcribed in Egypt, in *Archiv für Papyrusforsch.* I. (1900), pp. 227 sqq.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 255.

⁴ Wilcken, *loc. cit.*, p. 231 and p. 255.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁶ *Le Origini del romanzo greco*, pp. 90-94.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁸ Πάντες δὲ ἤχθοντο λογιζόμενοι τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς αὐτῶν ἀπαίδευτον, where αὐτῶν seems to refer to the suitors and πάντες to the citizens, who felt that they were being unfairly deprived of their chance to win Chione's hand: οὐ μέντοι γε αὐτῶν τις ἐτόλμα μετ' ἐκείνου αἰτεῖν τὴν κόρην (2. 9-22).

⁹ Wilcken, *loc. cit.*, p. 256 (III. 23) and p. 262.

¹⁰ Lavagnini, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94.

fifteen missing lines at the end of 1) describe one scene—a meeting between Chione and her mother (her father is dead) in the presence of other advisers or slaves, in which they discuss how to make the best use of their thirty days' respite. He assumes that Megamedes is Chione's absent lover. Column 2, he says, follows immediately upon the end of column 3; the scene changes from the meeting to the city,¹ where rumours of the suitors' threats have spread abroad and caused the indignation of the populace. A new scene with Chione as the central figure is just beginning when the column and the fragment come to an end.²

To Lavagnini's interpretation there are, I think, three decisive objections. First, it is surely impossible that Megamedes was Chione's lover. The words *αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν παρέσχηκέ σοι Μεγαμήδης ἵνα ἀπολίπης αὐτόν*³ must imply that Megamedes was an unwelcome suitor, to whom some pledge had been given and who had done nothing to deserve that it should be broken. That Chione's mother or anyone closely connected with Chione should have spoken such words about the man of her choice is incredible. Secondly, both *κινούντες* (3. 4) and *οἶτοι* (2. 1) imply that if Chione's interlocutor was not a man, men were at any rate present and taking a part in the discussion. Lavagnini is forced to admit that people were present, but he seems to consider them mute spectators. Are the masculine forms justifiable on such an assumption?⁴ Thirdly, by placing column 2 at the end he leaves no tolerable sense for the last words: *ἡ δὲ Χιὼνὴ παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς μαθούσα ταῦτα οὐκ ἔτι . . .*⁵ His interpretation necessitates the *presence* of Chione at the discussion of columns 1 and 3. What, then, was there for her to learn from her mother? There is nothing in column 2, and Lavagnini asserts that this immediately follows column 3.

I would therefore return to Wilcken's order of the columns, but not to his interpretation. His assumption,⁶ however, that Chione's father was alive and took an active part in this section of the story seems undoubtedly correct. Lavagnini's arguments against it are not convincing.⁷ The threats of powerful suitors are as consistent with the existence of a king, if he was weak or old, as with his absence; and, moreover, the actual words of the first column are in favour of Wilcken's assumption. 'The kingdom goes to her (presumably Chione) and her husband, διόπερ οὕτω χρὴ βουλευέσθαι ΝΥΝ ἡμᾶς ὥς μὴ μεταγνῶναι ποτε δύνασθαι.'⁸ This seems to imply that the kingdom will not immediately pass to the princess and her husband. But arrangements had to be made then, and it was the duty of the king and his counsellors to see that the princess did not contract a marriage of which they would have cause to repent when the time came for her to take over the reins of government. The first column, then, describes a scene in the king's council chamber. The king has been importuned by the suitors for his daughter's hand, and has with difficulty secured a respite of thirty days in which to come to a decision. *Chione is not present*. The discussion continues in the fifteen lost lines, and concludes with the word of which *-ουσαν* remains at the beginning of column 2.⁹ Then the scene shifts, the ordinary formula being used, *οἶτοι μὲν* (i.e. the king and his councillors) *ἦσαν πρὸ <ς> τ[ῶ] περι[ῖ] αὐ] τῶν βουλευέσθαι . ταχέως δὲ διεφοίτησε ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄπασαν . . . φῆμ[η] κτλ.*¹⁰ The king and his friends continued to discuss their

¹ *Οἶτοι μὲν ἦσαν πρὸ <ς> τ[ῶ] περι[ῖ] αὐ] τῶν βουλευέσθαι* is the transitional phrase (2. 1-3).

² 2. 22.

³ 3. 7-10.

⁴ According to Lavagnini nobody speaks except Chione and her mother, so that the masculines refer to two women and a number of hypothetical and unimportant men. If one of the speakers was a man the case would be different.

⁵ 2. 22-24.

⁶ Wilcken, *loc. cit.*, p. 256.

⁷ Lavagnini, *op. cit.*, p. 91. He is actually attacking Garin's theory. Garin (*Stud. Ital. di fil. class.* 17 [1909], p. 424, note 2) suggests that Chione's father is the speaker in the first fragment. Whether he or one of his councillors is actually speaking, Garin, I think, was right in assuming that the king is at any rate present.

⁸ 1. 5-9.

⁹ I agree with Wilcken that columns 1 and 2 stood side by side on the same page.

¹⁰ 2. 1-7.

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⁵ *Eg. Q*

position, but meanwhile the story became known throughout the city—the story, that is, of the insolence and threats of the suitors.

At the end of the column another character is introduced—Chione. The story which was spreading over the city reached Chione through her mother, and she no longer . . . , but there the column breaks off. Judging from Greek Romance as a whole, and remembering as an example the character of Semiramis in the *Ninus Fragments*,¹ we may assume that Chione was a victim of extreme maidenly modesty. May we not conjecture that she had not yet ventured to tell her parents that she had a lover; that the missing words of this and the whole of the next column told how, no longer daring to conceal her passion, she went to her father and put her case before him? The interview between them is well on its way when column 3 opens with the word -γαμήδης, which is obviously the last part of the name Μεγαμήδης, the Me- being the last letters in the preceding column. Who, then, was Megamedes? According to my interpretation Chione's father is here speaking: ἡμεῖς δὲ μέχρι νῦν πάντα κάλων κινούμεντες, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν νενόηκαμεν, αἰτίαν δ' οὐδεμίαν παρέσχηκέ σοι Μεγαμήδης ἵνα ἀπολίπῃς αὐτόν. ὥστε διαλογίζου τί δραστέον ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἀπορῶ.² It may be inferred that he has built his hopes upon Megamedes, to whom he had betrothed his daughter, perhaps against her will, and whose arrival was expected at any time.³ For this reason he had tried to temporize, and he had, as is shown by fragment 1, been given thirty days' grace. But the revelation of his daughter upset his plans. Megamedes instead of being a friend in his trouble will be a new enemy when he finds himself robbed, without just cause, of his betrothed. His coming will be to be dreaded instead of desired. The king, therefore, is perplexed, and turns to his daughter for advice, since he is helpless. Chione may well have intimated that she could always die,⁴ which, though typical of the heroine of a Greek Romance,⁵ is not in the circumstances very helpful. Her father, therefore, rather impatiently breaks in again⁶ χρὴ [δὲ] οὐδὲν [πρότερον ἢ]⁷ καὶ ὅπως εὐσχημόνως γενηθῇ σκοπεῖν.—'We must consider nothing before the possible means whereby things may turn out becomingly.' The next clause, which is introduced by γάρ, must have given his reasons, but the column ends, and there are no traces of the next.

It will be noticed that, while I take the columns in Wilcken's order, I do not consider that column 3 belongs to an altogether different part of the story. It seems to me that the two pages acquired by Wilcken were consecutive, and that, if columns 1 and 2 stood side by side on the flesh side of one sheet, column 3 was the *outside* column on the sheet immediately opposite, for a book was constructed so that flesh (or smooth) side faced flesh and hair (or rough) side faced hair alternately.⁸ Since Wilcken only copied what was written on the flesh sides, if the pages were consecutive, his three columns would all have been visible together when the book was opened at the right page. I am of the opinion that the contents of the inside column of the second page would have been sufficient to bind 1 and 2 to 3 in the way that I have indicated; and I assume that Wilcken copied three out of four consecutive columns, missing out the third—that is, the first on the second page.

¹ *Ninus fragments* A IV. 20 to V. 36; cf. Heliod. X. 18-21, 20 and 33.

² 3. 2-13.

³ Προσδοκίμῳ ἔστιν (3. 1-2).

⁴ Εἰ μὴ δυνάμεθα ζῆν μετ' ἀλλήλων . . . [ἀποθνήσκειν τὸ] τελευταῖον ἡμῶν ἀπολείπεται (3. 17-23). The introduction of the word ἀποθνήσκειν in some form is due to Wilamowitz (*Hermes* XLIV. [1909], pp. 464-466) and Lavagnini.

⁵ E.g. Charito 3. 7. 6; Xen. of Eph. I. 11. 5.

² 1. 6, etc.; Heliod., p. 7. 29-30 (Bekker).

⁶ 3. 23-26.

⁷ Πρότερον ἢ is my proposal; for other suggestions see critical notes in *Erot. Fragm. Pap.*, p. 26. There is room for nine letters.

⁸ Cf. Wilcken, *loc. cit.*, pp. 231-232, Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie* I. (1911), p. 158; Maunde Thompson, *Introd. to Gr. and Lat. Pal.*, p. 54.

For the date of the story there is no external evidence. The *Chione Fragments* were written in the same hand as the *Charito*, and this, according to Wilcken, was of the seventh century.¹ But that, of course, gives no indication as to the date of composition. In the absence of external evidence it is only possible to make a guess founded on the contents. These, as far as they go, make it likely that the story was a typical romance of the developed form. The characters are not historical,² and, according to my interpretation, there are secret lovers, unwelcome suitors, and every occasion for making the chief characters run away from home and for subjecting them to the usual dangers and adventures. For it would appear that the fragments that we have belong to the beginning of the story.³ They may well describe the opening situation, which shows the lovers in an impossible position, which would naturally lead to their flight, and so enable the author to introduce all the tricks of his trade. But Greek Romance in its developed form probably spread over at least two and perhaps three centuries—from *Charito* (c. 100 A.D.⁴), and possibly earlier, to *Achilles Tatius* (c. 300 A.D.⁵)—so that the *Chione* story might have been written any time between the beginning of the first and the end of the third centuries A.D. However, since it is coupled with, it *Charito* is not unreasonable to guess that it belongs to approximately the same date, and to place it provisionally in the first or early second centuries.

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¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 228-229.

² One of the tendencies of Greek Romance seems to have been to develop out of romantic history (Alexander Romance and Ninus Romance) into romantic fiction (*Charito*, Heliodorus, *Achilles Tatius*); cf. Ludvíkovský, *Řecký Román Dobrodružný*, pp. 34 ff.

³ Cf. Wilcken, *loc. cit.*, p. 263.

⁴ Cf. Calderini, *Le avventure di Cherea e Calirhoe*, p. 226; and for arguments based on internal evidence, cf. Somid, *Pauly-Wissowa* III. 2168-9.

⁵ Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrh. Pap. X.*, p. 135.

CONJECTURES ON SOME PASSAGES IN GREEK POETRY.

I.

HERMESIANAX, ap. Athen. 599B, l. 91 = *Collectanea Alexandrina* p. 100. This is a locus desperatus; but since the reviewer of *Collectanea Alexandrina* in the *Classical Review*, XXXIX., p. 192, accepts the idea which underlay my conjecture ἐξετρώφησε, I think of adding to it οὐδαμινόν τε, which is suggested by Schweighauser's οὐδαμινήν. The line will thus run: οὐδαμινόν τ' ἐξετρώφησε βίον 'uitam uilem deliciis consumpsit.' Hesychius has: οὐδαμινός · οὐδένος λόγου ἀξίός ἐστι · βραχύς · εὐτελής.

II.

Aeschylus, frag. Nauck 26, [ἀνθρωποειδὲς θηρίον ὕδατι συζῶν] = *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 190 (where θηρίον and ὕδατι should have been transposed). We hardly should expect a Scazon here, and the line could be made into an iambic by reading συζῶν ὕδει, a form of the dative which appears in Hesiod, *Opera* 61 (although it should not be retained in Theognis 961). But Dindorf's view, that the line is a grammarian's note explaining a line of Aeschylus which has been lost, is preferable.

III.

Euripides, *Bacchae* 135:

ἦδὺς ἐν ὄρεσιν, ὅταν ἐκ θιάσων δρομαίων πέσῃ πεδόσῃ (Murray's text).

The right reading may perhaps be ἦδος . . . ὅς ἄν, an example of a construction which is common in Euripides, like *Phoenissae* 509: ἀνανδρία γάρ, τὸ πλεον ὅστις ἀπολέσας τοῦλασσον ἔλαβε. In Kühner-Blass, ii., 2, pp. 441-442, is a complete list, which includes ten instances from Euripides, five from Thucydides, and two from Aristophanes. That fine scholar Musgrave got as far as ἦδος, but with ὅταν, and R. Gompf conjectured ὅς ἄν, but with ἦδὺς.

IV.

Alcaeus, fr. 39, Bergk PLG⁴, fr. 94 Diehl:

Ἀνθελ καὶ σκόλυμος · νῦν δὲ γυναῖκες μιανώταται
λέπτοι δ' ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ καὶ κεφάλαν καὶ γόνα Σείριος
ἄξει.

It is difficult to believe that in the charming sketch of midsummer in which these lines occur, Alcaeus wrote as above at the end of the first line: μιανώταται in the ordinary sense of 'blood-stained,' 'polluted' is surely impossible here; and if it is to stand, it must have a more colloquial meaning such as is found in δ μιανέ with Plato. But there are no instances of this use apart from the vocative; and even here it would make no clear contrast with λέπτοι δ' ἄνδρες. Perhaps the reading should be φιαρώταται, 'plump.' But we are met by a difficulty. Alcaeus' lines are plainly modelled upon Hesiod, *Op.* 582 sqq., ἦμος δὲ σκόλυμός τ' ἀνθελ . . . μαχλόταται δὲ γυναῖκες, ἀφανρότατοι δὲ τοὶ ἄνδρες κτλ., and μιανώταται must be older than Pliny, who in *N.H.* XXII. 43 attributes certain medicinal properties to the σκόλυμος (without reason, a high botanical authority assures me); and who quite unjustifiably calls Hesiod and Alcaeus to testify that for the purpose it is mixed with wine.

If one reads both Hesiod and Alcaeus carefully, it will be seen that the words of neither bear the implication which Pliny puts upon them; and certainly not Hesiod's words, for three lines intervene between the mention of the σκόλυμος and γυναῖκες . . . ἄνδρες. In fact, the mention of σκόλυμος is just a mark of time in his calendar, on which subject see Mair's *Hesiod*, p. 149: first the swallows come (*Op.* 568), (March), then the snails begin to crawl (April), and the farmer must begin to prepare for his grain harvest; then the blooming of the σκόλυμος (June), which Theophrastus expressly says is ὀψιανθής (for most flowers bloom earlier). What Alcaeus has done is to soften the coarseness of the passage which he has utilized; and as he softened Hesiod's ἀφανρότατοι into λέπτοι, so he has softened μαχλόταται to the opposite.

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NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

I. THE RHETRA OF EPITADEUS,

IN the opinion of Aristotle¹ and Plutarch² the growth of *latifundia* and consequent decline of the citizen population at Sparta were due to the absence of restrictions on gifts and bequests of land. According to Plutarch this freedom of gift and bequest, so far as it applied to the *κληροί* or entailed estates, was introduced by the *ρήτρα* of an ephor named Epitadeus, who removed the ban on gift and bequest imposed by Lycurgus.

We need not discuss here whether Epitadeus and his *ρήτρα* are historical, or whether the results ascribed to these were in reality due to the old restriction on gifts and bequests gradually becoming a dead letter.³ In view of the fact that the name Epitadeus at Sparta was borne by at least one historical personage,⁴ it seems preferable to accept the *ρήτρα* as historical;⁵ but this question is of minor importance. The points that most require consideration are (1) what was the date of the *ρήτρα*, and (2) what was its purpose?

1. On the authority of Plutarch it is usually believed that the ban on gifts and bequests was removed shortly after the end of the Peloponnesian War.⁶ This, however, is not a necessary or even a likely conclusion from what he says. His argument runs as follows: (i.) Sparta was sound until after the Peloponnesian War, when gold and silver came pouring in. (ii.) Nevertheless the social system held firm so long as Lycurgus' entail on the *κληροί* was maintained. (iii.) Eventually Epitadeus removed the restriction on gifts and bequests, with disastrous results.⁷ Thus Plutarch implies that there was a gap, and perhaps a considerable one, between the time when Sparta gathered in the spoils of the Peloponnesian War and the enactment of the *ρήτρα*.

Again, such statistics as we possess concerning the population of Sparta do not suggest that its decline was accelerated as early as c. 400 B.C.; they indicate that the really catastrophic period of depopulation set in during the second half of the fourth century, and that the curve did not attain its steepest gradient until after the time of Aristotle.⁸

Lastly, the removal of the ban on gifts and bequests was such an important innovation that it requires some considerable change in the Spartans' mode of life to explain it. At the beginning of the fourth century no change of sufficient importance took place: as Plutarch explains, the influx of gold and silver did not radically alter the social system. On the other hand, as Professor A. J. Toynbee has pointed out, the whole basis of Spartan life was altered when the revolt of Messene (370 B.C.)

¹ *Politics* II. 6. 1270a, l. 18 sqq.

² *Agis* 5. 2.

³ So Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen* I. p. 258 n. 3.

⁴ Thucydides IV. 8, 31, 38.

⁵ The *ρήτρα* may have been a judicial pronouncement rather than an act of the Apella. Cf. G. Glotz, *Histoire grecque* I. p. 366.

⁶ So recently Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatsaltertümer* II. pp. 635 and 636 n. 1.

⁷ *Agis* 5. 1-2.

⁸ See especially E. Cavaignac, *Klio* 1912 pp. 267-272. In Aristotle's time Sparta had nearly 1,000 hoplites, i.e. citizens with a *κληρος*; in the days of King Agis IV. the numbers had sunk to about 100.

As modern scholars have pointed out, the decline of population was partly due to other causes than the *ρήτρα*, e.g. the tendency of the Spartans to sterility. (Glotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 367-8.

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deprived the Spartans of one half of the rents from their κληροί, and the compensation which they found in foreign mercenary service rendered them independent of the other half.¹

It appears, then, that the date of the ῥήτρα falls somewhere near the middle of the fourth century B.C.

2. Professor Toynbee suggests that the purpose of the ῥήτρα was to induce enriched soldiers of fortune to return to Sparta and invest their gains in Laconian land. It is perhaps no serious objection to this theory that the returned soldiers could hardly have attracted gifts of land without making gifts of money in return: such fictitious sales no doubt were common enough under the new ῥήτρα.² But the numbers of those who returned from mercenary service with well-lined pockets cannot have been considerable. Such land as they required should have been easy to obtain by ordinary purchase in the territory of the Perioeci or among the freehold estates of the πολιτικὴ χώρα, without encroaching upon the κληροί. The true explanation probably is, not that a few wanted to acquire κληροί on their return home, but that many wanted to get rid of them when they started out. To a Spartan on mercenary service abroad a κληρος could be of little use, and his natural course would be to pass it on to some one else, especially if he could (in effect, if not in form) make a price for it. The ῥήτρα therefore was not a cunning device by which the moneyed Spartans coaxed the poorer citizens out of their κληροί, but a popular measure which the poorer Spartans no doubt originated.

Similarly there is no need to detect a deep-laid scheme in the accumulation of Spartan land in the hands of heiresses:³ the desire to entice an occasional returned 'nabob' with such bait would hardly account for the concentration of two-fifths of the πολιτικὴ χώρα in the hands of women.⁴ Is this not simply the result of all the male heirs of many Spartan families being killed in action, whether on home or foreign service, or settling down in foreign lands if they survived their term of duty?⁵

II. THE AFFAIR OF AMPHISSA.

The chronology of the events that led up to Philip's seizure of Elatea was fixed by Grote and Schaefer as follows:

Spring 339 B.C.: Aeschines lays information against the Locrians of Amphissa at the Amphictionic Council.

Early summer 339 B.C.: A special meeting of the Council decrees a military execution against the Locrians.

Summer 339 B.C.: An expedition under Cottyphus of Pharsalus makes an ineffectual attempt to coerce the Locrians.

Autumn 339 B.C.: The Amphictionic Council invites Philip to chastise the Locrians.

c. November 339 B.C.: Philip seizes Elatea.

An alternative time-table was drawn up some twenty years ago by Kromayer.⁶ This scholar began by arguing that the seizure of Elatea took place as early as September, i.e. *before* the autumn meeting of the Amphictionic Council, and was thus led on to date back the meeting at which Aeschines distinguished himself from spring 339 to autumn 340 B.C.

More recently the older system of dating has been in part restored by Beloch, who has shown convincingly that the seizure of Elatea took place *after* the autumn

¹ J.H.S., 1913, pp. 272-3.

² Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

³ Toynbee, *loc. cit.*, p. 273.

⁴ Aristotle, *loc. cit.*, l. 23.

⁵ Those who followed the casualty records of British officers during the war will have been

impressed by the large numbers who were described as 'only sons.' It will be interesting to trace the effects of these war-losses on the distribution of property in this country.

⁶ *Antike Schlachtfelder* I. pp. 172-187.

meeting of the Amphictionic Council.¹ Nevertheless Beloch has retained the date proposed by Kromayer for the first session of Council, and has brought up some fresh arguments in its favour. (i.) From *De Corona*, § 149, it may be inferred that Aeschines delivered his attack on the Locrians as soon as he took up his appointment as Pylagorus at Delphi. Now the Athenian appointments to the Amphictionic synods ran from autumn to autumn. Therefore Aeschines' historic speech was made at the autumn session. (ii.) Aeschines (*In Ctesiph.* § 115) mentions that two of his fellow-deputies from Athens missed the session in question because of an attack of fever. This suggests a date in autumn rather than in spring.

The crux of the problem, therefore, is whether the first Amphictionic Council was held in spring or in autumn.

Now (i.) the relevant words of Demosthenes run as follows: *ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετ' εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφείς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέραιεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους . . . συνθείς, κ.τ.λ.* This merely means that Aeschines neglected his other duties as Pylagorus and concentrated on mischief-making at the expense of the Locrians. But Aeschines, however eager for mischief, would have to wait until the opportunity for mischief presented itself. For all that Demosthenes says to the contrary, we may quite well suppose that Aeschines lay low at his first Council (autumn 340), and reserved his display of eloquence for the second meeting (spring 339). Demosthenes' text in fact proves nothing either way.

(ii.) Autumn no doubt is the worst, but it is not the only season for fever. Malaria, once it has caught you, never leaves you free for long. Beloch's second argument therefore at most creates a slight prejudice in favour of the autumn date.

(iii.) The system of Kromayer and Beloch is difficult to reconcile with the detailed account of proceedings at Delphi which Aeschines gives (*In Ctesiph.* §§ 107-129).

According to Aeschines the Amphictionic deputies after hearing his grand speech were all agog to take immediate action against the Locrians. On the very next day they attempted to demolish the properties erected by the culprits on the Crisaean plain; and on the day after they convoked an Amphictionic Ecclesia (i.e. a mass meeting of all citizens from constituent states who happened to be present at Delphi), which instructed the Council not to wait for its next normal session, but to convoke a special meeting to arrange for a military execution (§§ 122-4). It is clear from this narrative that events moved very rapidly after the first meeting of Council. Therefore if this session was held in autumn 340, one would expect that the ensuing special session was convened but a few weeks after, and in any case before the end of 340 B.C. But according to Aeschines (§ 128) the special meeting took place while Philip was 'among the Scythians,' i.e. in the spring or, more probably, the early summer of 339 B.C. Now Beloch admits that the synod at which the Amphictiones decreed a mobilization against the Locrians belongs to 339 B.C., and he does not venture to date it back beyond March or thereabouts.² But this leaves an intolerably large gap between the two Amphictionic sessions, and entirely stultifies the impetuous haste of the deputies after the first council.

On balance, therefore, it appears preferable to restore the older chronology in its entirety.

III. PHILIP AND THERMOPYLAE.

On Philip's policy in regard to the pass of Thermopylae the new Didymus papyrus has shed both fresh light and fresh darkness. The relevant passage

¹ *Griechische Geschichte* (second edition) III. 2. pp. 295-8.

² From Aeschines' *In Ctesiph.* § 124 (*ψηφίζονται δ' ἔκειν τοὺς ἱερομνημόνας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πύλας ἐν ῥητῇ χρόνῳ*) it appears that the second session

was a supernumerary one, and not a normal spring meeting convened at a somewhat earlier date, as Beloch takes it. But the point is immaterial.

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(col. 10 l. 37 sqq.) runs as follows: Φιλόχορος δ' ὅτι Λόκροις Φίλιππος αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν Νίκαιαν) ἐκέλευσε πρὸς Θηβαίων ἀποδοθῆναι διὰ τῆς ἑκτης φησὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· Φιλίππου δὲ καταλαβόντος Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ πρὸς βεῖς πέμψαντος εἰς Θήβας Θετταλῶν, Αἰνιάνων, Αἰτωλῶν, Δολόπων, Φθιωτῶν καὶ ἀξιοῦντος Νίκαιαν Λόκροις παραδιδόναι παρὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων, ἣν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου φρουρουμένην, ὅτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐν Σκύθαις ἦν, ἐκβαλόντες τοὺς φρουροὺς αὐτοὶ κατεῖχον οἱ Θηβαῖοι, τοῖσι μὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, κ.τ.λ. Two of the new statements contained herein may be accepted without hesitation, viz. that in summer 339 the Thebans expelled Philip's garrison from Nicaea (50 stades east of Thermopylae), and that in the subsequent autumn Philip circumvented Nicaea by taking the road up the Asopus valley to Cytinium and down the Cephissus valley to Elatea.¹ On the other hand, a difficulty arises out of the statement about Philip's embassy to Thebes.

Didymus' version of events implies that Philip, having made Thermopylae virtually untenable for the Thebans by his occupation of Elatea, proposed its transfer to the (Opuntian) Locrians as a compromise between his claims and those of Thebes. This arrangement would be quite in keeping with Philip's diplomatic methods. But there are several objections to his account.

(i.) Aeschines, *In Ctesiph.* § 140: ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Θηβαίων) ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θετταλοῖς παρέδωκε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον . . . ἐπῆγε διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἐλατείαν καταλαβὼν ἐχαράκωσε . . . ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη . . . ὑμεῖς ἐξήλθετε. It is clear from the context that all the events here set forth belong to one and the same crisis, viz. that which culminated in Philip's seizure of Elatea. Philip's offer to the Thessalians therefore is not the one which he made in 346-5 B.C. (Demosthenes, *Philippic* II. § 22), but a repetition of the same in 339 B.C., after the expulsion or retreat of the Theban garrison from Nicaea. Here, then, we have a direct conflict of evidence between Didymus, or rather Philochorus, who states that Nicaea was offered to the Locrians, and Aeschines, according to whom it was to be restored to the Thessalians. Now Aeschines had no object in falsifying this part of his story, and he made his statement in 330 B.C., i.e. only nine years after the events in question. On this point, therefore, his authority is greater than that of Philochorus, who wrote some fifty years later.

(ii.) The summons which the Amphictiones sent to Philip in autumn 339 was at the instigation of the Thessalians (*De Corona* § 151), who thus put Philip under obligation to themselves. Under these conditions Philip could hardly have undertaken to ignore their claim on Nicaea in favour of the Locrians.

(iii.) Didymus virtually refutes himself in stating that Philip's mission to Thebes was supported by a Thessalian delegation. It is incredible that Thessalian spokesmen should have gone to Thebes to advocate the Locrian claims against those of their own country. On the other hand, if Philip's purpose to restore Nicaea to the Thessalians, the appearance of Thessalian envoys at Thebes explains itself. Thus Didymus confirms Aeschines' statement against his own. The alleged offer of Nicaea to the Locrians may therefore be regarded as unhistorical.²

Another problem is set by the words Φιλίππου ἀξιοῦντος Νίκαιαν παραδιδόναι παρὰ

¹ The key position on the Asopus road at Heraclea was in Macedonian hands in 322 B.C. (Diodorus 18, 11); and from the fact that since 344 B.C. the two Malian votes on the Amphictionic Council were distributed between Lamia and Heraclea we may infer that Heraclea by then had passed into Philip's control. (F. Stählin in *Pausanias* VIII. 1. cols. 426-7.)

For Philip's previous fortifications at Thermo-

pylae, cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge* (third edition), No. 220.

² F. Stählin (*Klio* V. 70-1) in a short note suggests that we should read ἀξιοῦντος Νίκαιαν Θετταλοῖς παραδιδόναι. But a few lines above we read Λόκροις Φίλιππος αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσε ἀποδοθῆναι. The mistake therefore cannot be emended away.

τὸ δόγμα τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων. It seems *prima facie* unlikely that Philip, who in 339 B.C. entered Central Greece as the executive agent of the Amphictiones, should have flouted their decisions as Didymus describes. Still more strange is it that deputies from the Thessalians, Aenianes, Dolopes, and Phthiotae, all of whom had seats on the Amphictionic Council, should have aided Philip in destroying its authority. It is probable that here too Didymus (or Philochorus) was at fault; or else that the writer of the papyrus substituted *παρά* for *κατά*.¹

A third question arises out of the words τὸ δόγμα τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων. To what occasion does this refer? Possibly to the general settlement of Central Greece after the Sacred War;² but the allusion might equally well be to the autumn session of 339 B.C. Previous to this meeting, Nicaea had been seized by the Thebans, and it is not unlikely that at the ensuing Amphictionic session, which was under Thessalian influence, the Thebans should have been ordered to relinquish their prey.

IV. THE SACRED BAND OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

In their campaigns against Timoleon and Agathocles the Carthaginians employed a body of citizen troops known as the *ἱερὸς λόχος*.³ This was a picked force of some 2,500 men equipped in heavy armour.⁴ In battle it was posted at the critical point of the front, where defeat meant destruction.⁵

The heavy accoutrement of this corps suggests a general likeness to a Greek hoplite phalanx, the name Sacred Band a more special affinity with a famous Theban unit. Like its Carthaginian namesake, the Theban Sacred Band was a select company; it won the battles of Tegea and Leuctra and was cut down to the last man at Chaeroneia.⁶

Were these resemblances more than fortuitous? Some light is thrown on this problem by an inscription of the period following upon Leuctra, in which the Boeotian federation confers *προξενία* upon 'Nobas son of Axiuba the Carthaginian.'⁷ This decree clearly implies the presence of Theban visitors at Carthage. But the object of this visit can hardly have been commercial, for there is no evidence and no likelihood of trade relations between Carthage and Thebes; still less can it have been religious. The most probable explanation is that Nobas gave hospitality to a military mission, which had been sent to organize the Punic army. That the Carthaginians sometimes called in Greek instructors is known from the famous case of the Spartan Xanthippus in the First Punic War.⁸ That they should have applied to Thebes of all Greek states after the battle of Leuctra is not surprising. Furthermore, if the mission went out, say, between 370 and 367 B.C., which is a not unlikely

¹ Cf. Stählin, *ad loc.*, P. Foucart (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. 38, pp. 207-8), and G. Glotz (*Bull. Corr. Hellénique*, 1909, p. 532) defend the reading *παρά*; but they ignore Stählin's objections.

² So Stählin and Foucart, *ad loc.*

³ Diodorus 16. 80. 4; 20. 10. 6; 20. 11. 1; 20. 12. 3 and 7; Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 20. 3.

⁴ For their equipment, cf. Plutarch, *Timoleon* 27. 3; 28. 1 and 3; 29. 2. A select corps: Diod. 16. 80. 4; 20. 12. 3. At the battle of the Crimissus it numbered 2,500 (Diod. 16. 80. 4). At the battle of Tunes (310 B.C.) Agathocles put only 1,000 men into line against it, but the Syracusan general only had some 15,000 men in all against the 40,000 of the Carthaginians. In

310 B.C. the Sacred Band may have been below strength, for in the previous campaign in Sicily the casualties among the citizen troops of Carthage had been heavy (Diod. 19. 106).

⁵ It was completely cut up at the Crimissus (Diod. 16. 80. 4) and at Tunes (20. 12. 7). We may perhaps recognize the Sacred Band in the corps which saved the battle of Ecnomus in 311 B.C. (ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιφανέστατος: Diod. 19. 108. 6).

⁶ Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 18. 1 and 5; 19. 3-4; 23. 2.

⁷ I.G. VII. 2407; Dittenberger, *Sylloge* (third edition), No. 179.

⁸ Polybius I. 32-33.

date,¹ we may also detect a political object in its visit, for at that time the Thebans had an interest in strengthening the hands of Carthage against Dionysius I. of Syracuse, so as to keep him employed in Sicily and prevent him from sending reinforcements to Sparta.

If this conclusion is correct, we may see in Nobas' guests the makers of the Carthaginian *ἱερὸς λόχος*.

The Sacred Band of the Thebans was a standing force and had a common mess on the Cadmea.² Whatever its origin, the *ἱερὸς λόχος* of Carthage was almost certainly a regular corps and would no doubt have its own *συσσίτια*. Herein we may find the explanation of Aristotle's statement: *ἔχει δὲ (ἡ Καρχηδών) παραπλήσια τῇ Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν ἑταιρίων τοῖς Φιδιτίοις*.³ W. L. Newman argued from the analogy with Sparta that the Punic *συσσίτια* (i.) comprised the whole citizen body, (ii.) were designed to promote efficiency in war.⁴ The latter conclusion is no doubt correct; but the former is plainly untenable, for a rigid system of messes would be utterly impracticable in a large mercantile town with a floating population, and the Carthaginian citizen body as a whole was very poorly trained for war.⁵ In all probability the *συσσίτια* to which Aristotle alludes were those of the Sacred Band.

M. CARY.

¹ The editor of *I.G.* VII. argues that the 'Nobas' inscription was of similar date to *I.G.* VII. 2408, because two of the boeotarchs mentioned in the former recur in the latter, and that *I.G.* VII. 2408 belongs to 364-3 B.C. because two other boeotarchs mentioned therein (Malecidas and Diogeiton) were the generals who avenged Pelopidas' death in autumn 364 (Plu-

tarch, *Pelopidas* 35. 1). The inference is not conclusive, for boeotarchs were re-eligible; but both inscriptions plainly belong to the sixties,

² Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 18. 1.

³ *Politics* II. 8. 1272b, l. 32.

⁴ *The Politics of Aristotle* II. p. 362.

⁵ S. Gsell, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* II. pp. 344 sqq.

MEROPS ALIAEQVE VOLVCRES.

In his last 'Gleanings from Glossaries' (*C.Q.*, XX. 105, 1926) Lindsay quotes, and ascribes in part to Donatus, the Servian scholium on Verg. *G.* IV. 14: *meropes rusticae †barbaros† appellant . . . sunt autem uirides earum pennae, et uocantur apiastreae quia apes comedunt*.

Lindsay obelizes *barbaros*, 'because there is no other record of birds called by this name, except Probus' scholium: *Meropes dicuntur aues quas in Italia uocant barbaros, etc.*' After quoting the Berne scholium, '*Meropes †Galbeoli†, ut putat Tranquillus,*' and Isidore's statement, '*Meropes, eosdem et †gaulos†,*' Lindsay comes to the conclusion that these latter words 'must, each of them, contain a portion of the truth. And is not the whole truth that Donatus wrote *galbus* or *galius*?' He goes on to say: 'Now I hope that someone with more courage will say: The *barbaros* of Servius Danielis and of Probus on *Georg.* IV. 14 is a corruption of *galbos*.' For my part, I take my courage in both hands and assert that it is nothing of the kind.

Barbaros is doubtless corrupt; and if the original word be not lost beyond recovery, we had best look for it among the names properly applied to the same bird. We read in Albertus Magnus (VI. 1): '*Similiter autem (pico uiridi) auis quam*

Obarcham greci uocant; ouat in foramine terrae quod facit et construit rostro suo: aut forte factum inuenit.' There can be no doubt that this bird is identical with *Merops*, the bee-eater, though I am far from sure that the name given was used by Greeks—unless perhaps in Magna Graecia.

In Giglioli's invaluable list of Bird-names in Italian dialects, we find as one of the many vernacular names of the bee-eater *Abiargiu*, recorded from Sardinia; it is a variant, or an alternative spelling, of Albertus's *Obarcha*. Another name, *Aparuolo*, is used down in the Abruzzi, and has variants of its own, such as *Apaluoro*, in Sicily; and near to one or other of these we may set the Spanish *Abejaruco* and Portuguese *Abelharuco*. That these names of the bee-eater are all connected with *apis* seems obvious; I take it for certain that *Aparuolo* (qu. *Apiarulu*) is a diminutive form from *Apiarius*, and is an alternative name to the known Lat. *Apiastrea*. *Abiargiu* is not very far from the ordinary Italian equivalent of Lat. *apiarius*, viz. *apiajo*; if we want to know more about its precise mode of formation we must leave it to an expert in Italian dialects to explain.

I feel sure that in this group of words, and by no means in *galbus* or *galgulus*, do we find the lost word we are looking for: to which lost word we have now drawn near enough for a conjectural or provisional restoration of Donatus's gloss: 'Meropes rustici *Apiarios* [s. *Abiargiu*]' appellat.'

Round the word *Merops* there is apt to hang some suggestion of *speech*, though it is more than likely that, as a bird-name, its root is quite a different one. We have, for instance, the story of the giants 'qui Meropes dicti sunt, id est, diuersarum uocum homines'; and of Mount Merops, where Echo answered in a foreign tongue; and Probus' scholium itself goes on to say: 'aues . . . quarum uox quia multiplex capit partitionem uocis, meropes appellantur graece,' etc. I should not wonder at all if this supposed connection of *Merops* with the idea of *speech* had helped to lead scribe or scholiast astray into the blunder and corruption—'*apiarios*—*barbaros*.'

As to Isidore's *gaulos*, Suetonius' *galbeoli*, and the *galucis* of the bilingual gloss, the last was properly applied to the oriole (*χλωροστρουθίον*), and so, seemingly, the other two ought also to have been. We may obelize them as much as we please, as *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* and as dubious words; but I should stop short of dragging them into my cave to chop or stretch them. Lindsay would write *galuus* for *galucis*, *galuus* again for *gaulos*; he seems to consider *galbuli* (in Martial) more correct than *galbi*, and looks upon *galgus* and *galgulus* as 'the two names of the golden oriole.' May I suggest that in olden days there may have been just as many variant names of the golden oriole as there are nowadays; and we find that *garbe*, *sgarbe*, *garbeo*, *galberi*, *galbedro*, *sgalbeder*, *gravolo*, *gogolo*, *goro*, *galenu*, *galinu*, etc., are only a few, only one group among several, of the names in actual use for this bird in modern Italy. I begin to think it not at all impossible that *gaulus* may have been in use side by side with *galuus*, *galbula* with *galgula*, and again with *galbeola* or *galbeolus*, and so on.

D'ARCY W. THOMPSON.

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*ΑΣΜΕΝΟΣ OR *ΑΣΜΕΝΟΣ?

PRINTED texts of Greek authors reflect a divergence of opinion, some giving *ἄσμενος*, others *ἄσμενος*. Only *ἄσμενος* is correct, and it was never called in question until Usener (*Neue Jahrb.* 1865, 255) drew attention to the spelling *ἄσμενος* in the Bodleian MS. (Clarkianus 39) of Plato and in the Paris MS. (A) of the same author. He was followed by Schanz, who gave *ἄσμενος* in his editions of Platonic dialogues.

K. Lehrs, in a review of Schanz written in 1876 (now in his *Kleine Schriften*, p. 268), protested, and pointed to οὐκ ἄσμένῃ Eur. Med. 924, τότ' ἄσμένοισι Eur. Phoen. 1045, and τότ' ἄσμενοι Soph. Phil. 271. He also drew attention to the occurrence of *ἄσμενος* (as well as *ἄσμενος*) in the Clarkianus, but conceded that *ἄσμενος* was probably intended by the scribe. In the third place he cited the explanation of *ἄσμενος* in Eur. Med. offered by Tzetzes (*Anecd. Oxon.* 3. 358), namely that it is Aeolic or Ionic—an impossible explanation, but a testimony to the belief that *ἄσμενος* had a smooth breathing.

The case for *ἄσμενος*, although judgment seems often to have been given against it, is even stronger than Lehrs made it appear. He overlooked a piece of grammatical doctrine which is found in three places and is clearly worth more than the note of Tzetzes: (1) Schol. B. II. XIV. 108: ἄσμένῳ] ἀπὸ τῆς ἡσμένοιο μετοχῆς γέγονεν ὄνομα. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἡμεῖται. (2) Schol. T. I. c.: ἄσμένῳ] ἀπὸ τῆς ἡσμένοιο μετοχῆς ὄνομα γέγονεν, διὸ ἡμεῖται < τὸ > πνεῦμα. (3) Scholia on Dionysius Thrax, p. 402. 17 Hilg.: τοῦ ἄσμενος ἐμαυρώθη ὁ τόνος, ὁ χρόνος, τὸ πνεῦμα, ἦδω, ἦσμαι, ἡσμένοιο, ἄσμενος. The author of this doctrine believed that *ἄσμενος* was originally the Perf. Part. Passive of ἦδω. This belief is shared not only by Tzetzes I. c., but also by Choerob. in Theod. II. p. 316. 9 H., and the sources underlying *Etym. Magn.* 155. 29, *Etym. Gud.* 515. 19-23, and in modern times by Usener I. c., Kühner-Blass, *Griech. Gramm.* I. § 22. 10, Boisacq *Dict. Etym.*; the modern substitution of ἀνδάνω for ἦδω is a minor change. But he knew also that *ἄσμενος* had a smooth breathing, and sought (unsuccessfully) to explain it. Of his successors only Tzetzes seems to have continued the search; the others either say nothing about the breathing or assert (in modern times) that it was rough.

The evidence of the Clarkianus and Parisinus A of Plato is more easily accessible than it was in 1876, owing to the existence of the facsimiles. I have examined these in all the places cited below, and in addition I have examined the Clarkianus itself in all the places cited. The Parisinus offers a rough breathing in *Republ.* 329c, 475c, 614E, 616A, 620D, *Critias* 106A. In this last passage Cobet (*Mnemosyne* 3 [1875]. 157 sqq.) reports a smooth breathing. The Clarkianus has a number of erasures and altered breathings over *ἄσμενος*. In *Phaedo* 67E there is an erasure, over which a smooth breathing in the later form ' has been written and apparently corrected to the rough (early form ὀ). In 68A a line originally ended in ὀν and the next began with καὶ ἄσμενος, but the corrector has put a κ (of much later form, but not a χ) at the end of ὀν and has partly obliterated the original κ, which can still be seen both in the original and in the facsimile. The breathing has been altered from ὀ (or perhaps +, see below) to '. In 90D the breathing (ὀ) and accent are written over an erasure. In 97D there is an exactly symmetrical cross (+, plus sign) in the place usually given to the breathing. It seems to have been written with care and by the original scribe, and shows no sign of having been tampered with. In *Cratyl.* 413B the breathing (ὀ) has a very thick vertical stroke, and was originally a cross (plus sign) of which the vertical stroke has been thickened out

towards the left by a corrector. In 418c the breathing is rough (┘) and apparently uncorrected. In *Charm.* 153a the breathing is rough (┘) but there is an erasure on the left side of it, so that it may originally have been a cross or a smooth breathing. In *Euthyd.* 282d the breathing is smooth and there has been no correction. In *Protag.* 317d and 346a the same is true. In *Gorg.* 486d the rough breathing (┘) is written over an erasure, and there is another erasure between the α and the σ of ασμενον. In *Gorg.* 499b the breathing is smooth (┘) and the horizontal stroke is rather faint.

To sum up the evidence of these twelve places in the Clarkianus: the first hand seems to be visible in *Phaedo* 97d (+), *Cratyl.* 413b (+), 418c (┘), *Euthyd.* 282d (┘), *Protag.* 317d, 346a (both ┘), *Gorg.* 499b (┘), i.e. it gives two crosses, one rough breathing, and four smooth breathings, in that order. These seven places show us the original scribe first confessing ignorance, then changing his mind twice. The remaining five places show that later users of the manuscript continued to have doubts.

The one rough breathing which seems to be due to the first hand is discredited by the κ in ουκασμενος. This passage (*Phaedo* 68a) may be added to the passages cited by Lehrs from Euripides and Sophocles. Others of the same kind are λαβόντ' ἄσμενα Aristoph. *Pax* 600, οὐκ ἄσμένως Lycophron 1316, and οὐκ ἡσμένισαν LXX. 1 *Kings* 6. 19 (οὐκησμενισαν B ουκεσμενισαν A). I have not found any examples of a change of κ π or τ to χ φ or θ before ασμενος; Fuhr prints ποιήσαιθ' ἄσμενος in Demosth. 1. 4, and γένοιθ' ἄσμενοι in 2. 8, but Blass and Butcher gave ποιήσαιτ' ἄσμενος, γένοιτ' ἄσμενοι and the Parisinus (S) has ποιήσεται ἄσμενος, γένοιτο ἄσμενοι.

Evidence of this sort has convinced investigators of breathings from the days of Herodian until modern times (Wackernagel, *Sprachl. Untersuchungen zu Homer*, p. 41, n. 1). Even the most sceptical of critics (K. Meister, *Homerische Kunstsprache*, p. 209 sqq.) admits its force in the texts of the authors here under discussion, though he denies it in certain dialect inscriptions and in very early Homer papyri.

The six occurrences of the name Asmenus and three of Azmenus in Latin inscriptions (v. *Thes. Linguae Latinae*) might, it is true, be explained even by a believer in ἄσμενος (cf. K. Meister, op. cit. p. 220 on *Assos*, *Abdera*, *Arpocrates*, *ἔδους*, *Indus*, for which he admits the influence of the Greek spelling), but are not negligible as evidence for ἄσμενος.

It may be doubted whether ἄσμενος is a participle of ἡδομαι or ἀνδάνω. Herodian (II. 935. 2 Lentz) doubted whether it is a participle at all.

Περιγεγονότως, for which the *Thesaurus* cites only two passages, may be restored in Choerob. in *Theod.* I. p. 305. 4 Hilgard: καὶ πάντῃ περιγεγονότως (= successfully, περί γεγονότος codd., Hilg.) ἔπραξεν ἐν τῇ τούτου τοῦ ὀνόματος τεχνολογίᾳ (sc. Στέφανος ὁ τὰ ἐθνικὰ γράψας).

R. MCKENZIE.

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ΤΥΓΧΑΝΩ FOR ΤΥΓΧΑΝΩ ΩΝ IN ATTIC PROSE.

THE question whether τυγχάνω can be used for τυγχάνω ὦν in Attic Prose has been differently answered by different scholars. Phrynichus (p. 277 Lob., p. 342 Ruth.) held that it could not, and Porson (*ad Eur. Hec.* 788 [782]) followed him.¹ The generality of modern scholars, however, have taken the other view—so, e.g., Locella, Heindorf, Lobeck, Ast, Schneider, Madvig, Stallbaum, Krüger, W. H. Thompson, Rutherford, Jebb, Adam, Kühner-Gerth. The object of the present note is to show that the 'modern' view, if it is to be maintained, must be based on other evidence than that hitherto given for it.

The favourite proof-text is Plato (?), *Hipp. Mai.* 300a. Thus Heindorf in his note on *Plat. Gorg.* 502b asks: 'Sed *Hipp. Mai.* § 45 in uerbis οὐδέ γε αὖ ἡ δι' ἀκοῆς ἡδονή, ὅτι δι' ἀκοῆς ἐστὶ, διὰ ταῦτα τυγχάνει καλὴ quis sine libris inserere uelit οὐσα . . . ?' He is followed by Jebb who says (*ad Soph. El.* 46): 'Ast collects some ten examples from Plato; a few are subject to the doubt whether ὄν or ὦν has not dropped out after a like termination; but that does not apply to (e.g.) *Hipp. Mai.* 300a ἡ δι' ἀκοῆς ἡδονή . . . τυγχάνει καλὴ, or *Tim.* 61D τυγχάνει . . . δυνατὰ ἱκανῶς λεχθῆναι.' Adam (*ad Plat. Rp.* 369b) likewise refers to this passage as one of three (the others being *Tim.* 61C-D and *Legg.* 918c) where the omission of the participle cannot possibly be ascribed to lipography. And Lobeck and Thompson (*ad Plat. Phdr.* 263c) give it the first place in their proof-texts. One wonders whether the four last-named scholars had observed old Dr. Routh's precept and verified their reference. If they did, it is strange that they should all have failed to observe that Plato or his imitator continues with οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε κτλ.

I proceed to a systematic examination of all the passages that I have found quoted from Attic Prose (including Xenophon) and Comedy for the omission of the participle.²

(i.) Omission of ὦν.

1. *Ar. Av.* 760 εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει τις ἡμῶν δραπέτης ἐστιγμένος. Here ἐστιγμένος can be taken with τυγχάνει.

2. *Ar. Eccl.* 1141 καὶ τῶν θεατῶν εἴ τις εὖνους τυγχάνει. Porson's emendation involves comparatively little change: καὶ τῶν θεατῶν <ὦν> [εἰ] τις εὖνους τυγχάνει.

3. *Lys. XX.* 36 ὅστις <δ'> ἡμῖν ἡλικιώτης τυγχάνει ἢ τῷ πατρί, ἐλείψαντας ἀποψηφίσασθαι. Cobet inserts ὦν after ἡλικιώτης, but this is devoid of palaeographical probability. There is ground, however, for suspecting the words ἢ τῷ πατρί and it is on the cards that ὦν has disappeared after τυγχάνει.

4. *Lys. XXIV.* 5 καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον τὸν ἐμόν, οἷος τυγχάνει, πάντας ἡμᾶς οἴομαι γινώσκειν. Reiske added ὦν after τυγχάνει, but there is no special reason why it should have fallen out either there or after οἷος.

5. *Plat. Prot.* 313E εἰ μὲν οὖν σὺ τυγχάνεις ἐπιστήμων τούτων τί χρηστὸν καὶ πονηρόν. There is a double chance that ὦν has fallen out here—after ἐπιστήμων (so Heindorf) or after τούτων.

6. *Plat. Rp.* 369b ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνει ἡμῶν ἕκαστος οὐκ αὐτάρκης, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἐνδεής. Here again there is a double chance of ὦν having fallen out—after ἡμῶν (Porson?) or πολλῶν (Hartman).

7. *Plat. Legg.* 892D νεώτατος δ' ἐγὼ τυγχάνων ἡμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐμπειρος ῥευμάτων εἶπον. The same is true here also: ὦν might have fallen out after τυγχάνων or ἡμῶν (hardly after πολλῶν or ῥευμάτων).

¹ They cannot of course have meant to condemn expressions like *Plat. Gorg.* 512D δντα ὁποῖός τις ἐνυχε, where the insertion of the participle would be unidiomatic.

² I include the four passages supplied by the Orators (Isaeus excepted) where τυγχάνω does duty for τυγχάνω ὦν. These do not seem to have been adduced hitherto.

8. Xen. *Cyr.* III. 1. 12 ἤν ἄρχων τις τύχη σοι καὶ ἀμάρτη, πότερον ἐφς ἄρχειν ἢ ἄλλον καθίστης ἀντ' αὐτοῦ; There is no omission of ὦν here. Take ἄρχων (pcp.) with τύχη.¹

We have thus six passages where ὦν is wanting in the MSS., but only one—viz., (4)—is a really strong example.

(ii.) *Omission of οὐσα.*

9. Plat. (?) *Hipp. Mai.* 300A. See above.

10. Dem. *Proem.* 50. 2 νῦν δ' ὅσῳ τυγχάνει σπονδαιοτέρα, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον κτλ. This does not look at all like a case of lipography, but the participle may have been omitted only in order to avoid hiatus.

(iii.) *Omission of ὦν.*

11. Thuc. I. 32. 3 τετύχηκε δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτήδευμα πρὸς τε ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν ἡμῖν ἄλογον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀξύμφορον. Herwerden suggested inserting ὦν after ἄλογον. It seems to me that if any change is needed it might be better to write ταῦτ' ὦν or ταῦτὸν ὦν.

12. Thuc. I. 106. 1 ἐσέπεσεν ἐς του χωρίον ἰδιώτου, φῖ ἔτυχεν ὄρυγμα μέγα περιείργον καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐξόδος. This has been variously interpreted. Some apparently suppose ἔτυχεν to be used in the sense of 'had fallen to the lot of,' but this seems to be out of the question, although Lys. fr. 19 perhaps shows that Steup is wrong in confining this use of τυγχάνω to poetry. Others (e.g. Marchant) take ἔτυχεν to be put for ἐτυχεν ὦν. It would be a fairly easy correction to write ἔτυχεν <ὦν>. But the expression strikes one as improbably cumbrous and the possessive dative as unnatural. Krüger was of opinion that 'auch wenn man ἔτυχε περιείργον verbindet, würde ὁ nicht nothwendig sein.' Presumably he meant to take φῖ as a dative of interest (cp. Xen. *Cyr.* III. 1. 12 *cit. sup.*), but this seems scarcely possible. On the whole it seems best to alter φῖ to ὁ with Herwerden, Gertz, and Steup.

13. Lys. fr. 19 τετύχηκε δέ μοι καὶ εἰκοσίμινος ἔρανος. Possibly τετύχηκε here = 'has fallen to the lot of.' But we are dealing with a mere fragment, and Pollux, who quotes it, may well have left out a participle (ὦν, γενόμενος *vel sim.*).

14. Plat. *Gorg.* 502B εἰ δέ τι τυγχάνει ἀηδὲς καὶ ὠφέλιμον, τοῦτο κτλ. *Post* ὠφέλιμον *add.* ὦν Hirschig.

15. Plat. *Phaedo*, 62A οὐδέποτε τυγχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ οἷς βέλτιον τεθνάναι ἢ ζῆν, οἷς δὲ κτλ. *Post* βέλτιον *add.* εἰ. ὦν Heindorf.

16. Plat. *Phdr.* 263C ὡς βλάβη τέ ἐστι (sc. ἔρως) τῷ ἐρωμένῳ καὶ ἐρῶντι, καὶ αἰθῖς ὡς μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν τυγχάνει.—Σω. Ἄριστα λέγεις. *Post* μέγιστον *add.* ὦν Heindorf; *post* ἀγαθῶν *add.* ὦν Hirschig.

17. Plat. *Soph.* 234C ἄρ' οὐ προσδοκῶμεν εἶναι τινα τέχνην ἣ οὐ δυνατόν αὐ τυγχάνειν τοῖς νέουσ . . . γοητεύειν . . .; There is obviously corruption in this passage. Schleiermacher's ἣ and Heindorf's τυγχάνει are generally accepted. There is clearly a good chance that the impossible οὐ represents an original ὦν, and Madvig and Burnet respectively read ἣ ὦν δυνατόν αὐ τυγχάνει and ἣ αὐ δυνατόν ὦν τυγχάνει. One may also suggest ἣ δυνατόν ὦν αὐ τυγχάνει. Diès, however, reads ἣ <π>ου δυνατόν αὐ τυγχάνει, which is palaeographically good.

18. Plat. *Legg.* 918C τί ποτε δὴ τὸ μὴ καλὸν αὐτὸ μὴδ' εὐσχημον δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τί τὸ διαβεβληκὸς τυγχάνει, ἰδωμεν. Whatever explanation we may adopt of this sentence, it is a careless piece of writing. We might make it orthodox as regards τυγχάνω by adding ὦν after διαβεβληκὸς or by writing [τ] ὁ διαβεβληκὸς. But it is probably best to let the text stand.

¹ Lobeck refers further to 'Alexis Athen. N. 60. 143.' This apparently refers to Diphilus ap. Athen. IV. 60 (165F). 'Ἐτύχανεν there could be

changed to ἐτύχαν' ὦν, but Diphilus is too late to matter much.

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19. [Plat.] *Alc.* I. 129A πότερον οὖν δὴ ῥάδιον [sic et Stob.] τυγχάνει τὸ γνῶναι
ἐαυτὸν. *Post ῥάδιον add. ὁν* Hirsch.

20. [Plat.] *Alc.* I. 133A εἰς ἐκεῖνο ᾧ τοῦτο τυγχάνει ὁμοιον [sic et Stob.], οὐκ κτλ.
It would be very easy to write ὁμοιον <ὁν>, οὐκ. Cp. 133B εἰς ἄλλο ᾧ τοῦτο τυγχάνει
ὁμοιον ὁν.¹

If I am right in eliminating (12) and (13) above, we are left with eight cases of
omitted ὁν. In each of these, except (18), the omission might be due to haplography.
And that exception is in the *Laws*, which in matters of syntax are laws unto themselves
and unto themselves only. Due regard must however be paid to the frequency of
neuter predicates in -ον.

(iv.) Omission of ὄντες.

21. Thuc. II. 87. 5 διὰ τὸ ἀπαράσκειν τότε τυχεῖν· περιγίγνεται δὲ κτλ.

22. Xen. *Hell.* IV. 3. 3 πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν κτλ.
But this reappears in *Ages.* 2. 2 as πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ὄντες ἐτύγχανον,
ἐκακούργουν κτλ.

23. Xen. *Hell.* IV. 8. 29 καὶ ὅσοι Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον αὐτόθι, ἀπῆντων
ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια.

24. Xen. *Mem.* III. 12. 1 ἀγὼν ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι θήσουσιν, ὅταν τύχῃσι; καὶ μὴν κτλ.

25. *Ibid.* 2 δουλεύουσι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃσι, τὴν χαλεπωτάτην δουλείαν.

26. Xen. *Oec.* 20. 28 οὐκ εἰκῇ αὐτὸν ὅπου ἂν τύχῃσιν ἀπέβαλον.

27. Plat. *Legg.* 886E νῦν δὲ ὅτε [v.l. ὄντες] πάμπολλοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἔτι χαλεπώτερον
ἂν εἴη.²

Of the above, (24), (25), (26) must be eliminated straight away; it would be
grammatically impossible to insert ὄντες in any of them.

The remaining four present some curious points. On the one hand, (22) and
(23) seem to be linked with one another: on the other, τότε or ὅτε appears in (21),
(22), (27), and in the last has ὄντες as a variant. The discrepancy between Xen.
Hell. IV. 3. 3. and *Ages.* 2. 2 is a further point of interest.

In (27) ὄντες is the reading of AOLL^{ms}, ὅτε of L Arm. Schneider adopts ὄντες,
in which case we have a very violent anacoluthon, but Bekker, Stallbaum, Burnet,
and England all prefer ὅτε. Ritter would write νῦν δὲ ὄντες πάμπολλοι τυγχάνουσιν,
<ὁ> ἔτι χαλεπώτερον ἂν εἴη, which is not attractive. To me it seems that the
phenomena of the MS. tradition are most easily explained if we read νῦν δὲ ὅτε ὄντες
κτλ, as suggested by Ast. It would be easier for an ὄντες to have fallen out after ὅτε
(or to have ejected ὅτε) by quasi-haplography than for an ὄντες to have been wrongly
inserted by quasi-dittography, and, if ὄντες were a deliberate interpolation, it would
more naturally have been placed after τυγχάνουσιν. I fancy, too, that it must be
doubtful whether the Greek MS. of the Armenian translator, whose version
Conybeare³ describes as a turbid medium, really lacked ὄντες.

If ὅτε ejected ὄντες in this passage of Plato, τότε may have had the same effect
in (21), Thuc. II. 87. 5. One would be tempted to say that it had the same effect in
(22), Xen. *Hell.* IV. 3. 3, especially in view of the presence of the participle in
Ages. 2. 2. But the absence of the participle in (23), Xen. *Hell.* IV. 8. 29, makes this
supposition difficult. No doubt ὄντες might easily enough have fallen out after
φυγάδες *per homoeoteleuton*, but the general similarity to IV. 3. 3 would make the
coincidence in the omission very strange.⁴ It would be rash then to insert the

¹ In Plat. *Apol.* 38A we have ἀγαθὸν ὃν BW, ἀγαθὸν T; in Plat. *Phdr.* 230A θηρίον ὃν T, θηρίον B; in Plat. *Th.* 151E ἀνεμίαιον τυγχάνει ὃν codd. Plat., ἀνεμίδιον τυγχάνει Sch. ad Ar. *Av.* 696, Suid. s.v. ἀνεμος.

² In Isocr. VI. 66 it is now known that ἦσαν is much better attested than ἐτύγχανον (ἦσαν ΓΕ,

lac. Θ, ἐτύγχανον vulg.).

³ *American Journal of Philology* XLV. (1924), 2, p. 108.

⁴ Note, too, that half the examples of τυγχάνω without participle in Tragedy are with adverbs of place. In this very sentence Xenophon has δε ἀρμυστής ἐτύγχανεν ὦν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,

participle in these passages of the *Hellenica*. The fact, however, that Xenophon in copying *Hell.* IV. 3. 3 into *Ages.* 2. 2 thought fit to add *όντες* is perhaps significant. The *Agesilaus* is very largely 'lifted' from the *Hellenica* with slight verbal alterations. But these alterations, though slight, are not casual, but betray a distinct archaizing or de-Atticizing motive. Thus *μείων* is substituted for *ἐλάττων*, *ἀμφί* c. acc. for *περὶ* c. acc., and, in the particular sentence with which we are concerned, *ἐφεπόμενοι* for *ἐπακολουθοῦντες*.¹ Now the insertion of *όντες* cannot be due to any such motive. It rather looks as if Xenophon saw in the omission of *όντες* in *Hell.* IV. 3. 3. a blemish which ought not to be allowed to stand even in the diluted Attic of the *Agesilaus*.

(v.) Omission of *όντα*.

28. Plat. *Tht.* 180D ἡ γένεσις τῶν ἄλλων πάντων Ὡκεανός τε καὶ Τηθύς ρεύματα τυγχάνει καὶ οὐδὲν ἔστηκε. Post *ρεύματα* add. *όντα* Burnet. (Eusebius gives *ρεύμα τυγχάνει*.)

29. Plat. *Tim.* 61C-D τυγχάνει δὲ οὔτε ταῦτα χωρὶς τῶν περὶ τὰ παθήματα ὅσα αἰσθητικὰ οὐτ' ἐκεῖνα ἄνευ τούτων δυνατὰ[ι] ἱκανῶς λεχθῆναι, τὸ δὲ ἅμα σχεδὸν οὐ δυνατόν. Lindau's substitution of *δυνατὰ* for *δύναιται*, given by the MSS., seems all but certain. This passage, as we have seen, is regarded by Jebb and Adam as peculiarly insusceptible of emendation. But *όντα* could very easily have fallen out after *δυνατὰ*, even more easily than after *ρεύματα* in (28).

Thus both examples of omitted *όντα* occur where homoeoteleuton can be invoked.

(vi.) Omission of *όντων*.

In Thuc. I. 120. 5 there is no omission of *όντων*, for *τυχόντα* (CG Schol. Stob.), and not *τυχόντων* (ABEFM), is certainly the true reading.

Whatever doubt there may be as to the use of *τυγχάνω* for *τυγχάνω ὦν* in Attic Prose and Comedy, there can be no question of its use in Tragedy and Aristotle.

Aeschylus furnishes no examples, but there are four in Sophocles:

30. *Ajax*, 9 ἔνδον γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἄρτι τυγχάνει, κάρη | στάζων ἰδρῶτι. Porson wrongly tried to make *τυγχάνει* go with *στάζων*.

31. *El.* 45 ὁ γὰρ | μέγιστος αὐτοῖς τυγχάνει δορυξέων.

32. *El.* 313 νῦν δ' ἀγροῖσι τυγχάνει.

33. *El.* 1457 χαίροις ἄν, εἰ σοι χαρὰ τυγχάνει τάδε.

Three at least can be quoted from Euripides:

34. *Andr.* 1113 τυγχάνει δ' ἐν ἐμπύροις.

35. *I.A.* 730 ἡμᾶς δὲ ποῦ χρη̃ τῆνικαῦτα τυγχάνειν;

35a. *Hec.* 971 ἐν τῷδε πότμῳ τυγχάνουσ' ἴν' εἰμὶ νῦν.

There is obviously no emending these, but it may be remarked that even if these had been prose texts only two of the six—viz., (31) and (33)—would have lent themselves to emendation.

Bonitz (*Index Aristotelicus*, p. 778b 4 sqq.) cites seven examples from Aristotle:

36. *Top.* 151b 11 διασαφῆσαι τί ποτε τυγχάνει τὸ δηλούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου.

37. *De Cael.* 294a 11 οἱ περὶ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῆς μονῆς εἰρημνοὶ τρόποι πολλοὶ τυγχάνουσιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν κτλ.

38. *Pol.* 1289b 16 εἴ τις ἄλλη τετύχηκεν ἀριστοκρατικὴ καὶ συνεστῶσα καλῶς.

39. *Pol.* 1318a 31 ἐπειδὴ δύο μέρη τετύχηκεν ἐξ ὧν ἡ πόλις, πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, οἱ ἄν κτλ.²

¹ Cf. Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* I.⁶, p. 506, n. 3.

² In *Pol.* 1262a 3 inferior MSS. omit ὧν after ἀρισθύν.

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40. *Eth. Eud.* 1215a 36 τρεῖς ὁρώμεν καὶ βίους ὄντας οὓς οἱ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας τυγχάνοντες προαιροῦνται ζῆν ἅπαντες.

41. [*Rhet. ad Alex.*] 1423b 26 ἐπὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τὸν λόγον ἀνακτεόν, τί πράττοντες χεῖρον οἱ πολῖται τυγχάνουσι νῦν ἢ πρότερον.

42. [*Physiogn.*] 813b 29 ὡς τυχόντα ἐπιτελεστικά ἐστι καὶ ὡς ἀτελῇ, εἴρηται.

Of these (41) is wrongly adduced, as πράττοντες should be taken with τυγχάνουσι, while (42) may be neglected in view of the late date of the treatise concerned. Of the remaining five, three—viz., (37), (38), (39)—resist emendation, while in (40) the addition of ὄντες, though palaeographically easy, would be otherwise objectionable.

I doubt if much is to be gained from an examination of the usage with similar verbs. The one really parallel verb, κυρῶ, is used with and without ὦν, but it is wholly foreign to Attic Prose. There are indubitable examples of διατελῶ with a bare adjective predicate in Attic Prose (e.g. *Thuc.* I. 34. 3; VI. 89. 2; *Isae.* VIII. 44), but διατελῶ by its very nature seems to require a participle less than τυγχάνω (cp. e.g. διατέλει γὰρ ὥσπερ ἤρξω, *Plat. Gorg.* 494c).¹

Enough has been said, I think, to show that τυγχάνω for τυγχάνω ὦν is (i.) unobjectionable in Tragedy² (30-35); (ii.) liable to occur in prose, though only perhaps through carelessness (22, 23, *Xen.*, 36-40, *Arist.*) or the desire to avoid hiatus (10).

Does the evidence justify us in regarding it as a legitimate usage in Attic Prose and Comedy?

The case for the affirmative must certainly not be based primarily on individual passages so readily corrigible as *Plat. Hipp. Mai.* 300a and *Tim.* 61c-d, or on a clumsily written sentence in the *Laws* (918c). Rather it will rest on: (i.) The number of passages—at least twenty-two—where the participle is wanting in the MSS.; (ii.) ex. 4 above (*Lys.* XXIV. 5); (iii.) the similarity of *Xen. Hell.* IV. 3. 3 and IV. 8. 29.

Against this must be set: (i.) *Xen. Ages.* 2. 2, which perhaps indicates that even so easy-going a writer as Xenophon did not really approve of τυγχάνω without ὦν; (ii.) the fact that nearly all the examples in Thucydides, Aristophanes, and Plato could easily be accounted for as scribal errors, whereas only four out of the eleven quoted from Tragedy and Aristotle could be so explained. The frequency of τυγχάνω ὦν must be borne in mind. The subjoined table gives the figures for Thucydides, Aristophanes, and the Orators (excluding Isaeus):

Author.	Participle well protected.	Participle in slightly exposed position.	Participle in seriously exposed position.	Participle wanting but easily restored.	Participle wanting and not easily restored.
Thucydides ...	22	2	1	2	0
Aristophanes ...	9	0	2	1	0
Antiphon ...	2	1	0	0	0
Andocides ...	2	0	0	0	0
Isocrates ...	30	3	0	0	0
Lysias ...	17	0	0	2	1
Hyperides ...	0	0	0	0	0
Aeschines ...	3	0	0	0	0
Lycurgus ...	0	1	0	0	0
Demosthenes ...	11	1	1	0	1
Dinarchus ...	0	0	0	0	0
Totals ...	96	8	4	5	2

¹ It may be mentioned that διατελῶ does not occur in Aristophanes, and is only used three times by Thucydides. [Similarly καίπερ, which figures so prominently in our composition manuals and fair copies, is only used sixty-four or sixty-five times in all in Thucydides and the

Orators (excluding Isaeus).]

² Examples in Tragedy of τυγχάνω ὦν are rare. Aeschylus has no examples; Sophocles only one, it seems (*Aj.* 88); Euripides several (*Med.* 608, *Hipp.* 281, *I.T.* 630, *Antioch.* fr. 183, and probably elsewhere).

Unfortunately no statistics can be given for Plato. The majority of the examples of τυγχάνω without ὦν are quoted from the Platonic corpus, but it would not be surprising if the number of examples of τυγχάνω ὦν in these writings also considerably exceeded that of those in Thucydides, Aristophanes, and the Orators. Plato is certainly very fond of τυγχάνω ὦν, though Ast only cites three examples.

A definite decision may only be possible when we are certain that all passages in Classical Greek where the MSS. omit the participle have been collected, and when we have statistics for τυγχάνω ὦν. Meanwhile I think we may feel sure that the participle has accidentally fallen out in a fair proportion of the passages where it is missing but can readily be restored, but it is difficult to be positive that that has happened in any given passage.

W. L. LORIMER.

ST ANDREWS.

NOTE ON TERENCE, *ANDRIA* 532.

THE traces of real, that is, ancient, rival versions of Terence's lines are not so pronounced as of Plautus' lines. Professor Lindsay has drawn attention to a possible instance at *Hec.* 468 ('Notes on the Text of Terence,' *C.Q.* Vol. XIX., No. 1, p. 33). Another seems to be *Andr.* 532 ('atque adeo in ipso tempore ecce ipsum [obuiam] Chremem'), if I am right in supposing that the text used by Donatus had *ipsum Chremem*. A trace of the variant survives in the unmetrical δ-setting *ipsum obuiam Chremem DGL*. The text of the other minuscule MSS. has *ipsum obuiam*. A is not in evidence for this part of *Andria*. Had it too *ipsum Chremem*?

Donatus' comment on the lemma *ecce ipsum obuiam* (the MSS have not *Chremem*)—a matter of no importance when we remember that these lemmata are not ancient—is *continuo mutauit declinationem, ut 'iubeo Chremetem'* (the first two words of 533). It might be said that he was referring to *Chremem* of 527, but, apart from the indication of the lemma, *continuo* would imply immediate succession, and, besides, the following line, with *Chremetem*, or l. 527, would have been the more natural place for a comment on the change of form if *Chremem* had not occurred at l. 532.

The reason for the variant *obuiam* for *Chremem* may be that schoolmasters were plagued by their pupils asking 'Why *Chremem* here and *Chremetem* in the next line?' or that purist editors thought it a flaw in the model Terence. If we had the full commentary of Donatus we might find in it some discussion of the difficulty and of the reason for the different forms. There may possibly be some nuance, lost to us as to the old schoolmasters or editors, in this use of *Chremetem*, and in the use of *Thaïnis* (preserved by Donatus), for the normal *Thaïdis*, at *Eun.* 267. The evidence we have in Plautus and Terence is insufficient to establish any principle. Plautus has *Chremem* in the only instance in which he uses the name. Terence has *Chremem* six times, if the occurrence in *Andr.* 532 is admitted. He has *Chremetem* twice (*Andr.* 472 and 533). The inference from this evidence would be that *Chremem* was the ordinary form employed by Terence. At 533 Simo greets Chremes *iubeo Chremetem (sc. saluere)*, and we might say that here we have to do with a somewhat courtly, ceremonious form of address. But at 472 Simo is speaking to himself in the hearing of Davus, and there appears to be no special point in *Chremetem*. *-etis* (gen. and dat.) are the only forms used by Terence, but they occur only once each.

A parallel to *Chremem* and *Chremetem* in neighbouring lines is *Hec.* 81-82 *Philotium . . . Philotis* (cf. Don. *ad loc.*).

J. D. CRAIG.

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NOTES ON CATVLLVS.

1. CATVLLVS LXVIII. 157 contains a crux in the last word which has continued to defy editors. In ending his long elegy to Manlius, Catullus showers his gratitude upon him and all who have served him in his first efforts to meet Lesbia:

Sitis felices et tu simul et tua uita
et domus, in qua nos lusimus, et domina
et qui principio nobis terram dedit *aufert*
a quo sunt primo omnia nata bona.

The word *aufert* seems to hide the name of the man who through the request of Manlius provided a rendezvous for the first meeting which was the beginning of his happiness. Several other poems suggest that the man was Caelius Rufus who occupied a house of Clodius on the Palatine and who was Clodia's neighbour (*Pro Cael.* 17). Catullus repeatedly speaks of the fact that Caelius had been his best friend and had done him some peculiar service at the time when he most needed it. The clearest expression of this fact appears¹ in *Carm.* C. 5-7:

Cui faueam potius? Caeli tibi, nam tua nobis
per facta exhibita est unica amicitia
cum uesana meas torreret flamma medullas.

Later Catullus had abundant cause to regret this friendship, for during his absence in Verona Clodia, attracted by her handsome neighbour (*Cic. Pro Cael.* 17), transferred her affections to Caelius:

Rufe mihi frustra ac nequiquam credite amice . . .
sicine subrepsti mi atque intestina perurens
Ei misero eripuisti omnia nostra bona.

Carm. LXXVII.

(The last words seem to be reminiscent of *omnia nata bona*, LXVIII. 158).

Carm. LXXIII. 5 seems to refer to the same circumstance:

Vt mihi, quem nemo grauius nec acerbior urget
Quam modo qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit.

It is of course impossible to restore *Caelius* or *Rufus* in LXVIII. 157, but since in that poem Catullus, for obvious reasons, concealed even the name of Manlius under a disguise (see *Am. Jour. Phil.*, 1914, p. 67), he probably also disguised Caelius' name. For palaeographical reasons editors have been inclined to restore *Afer* (Munro) or *Anser* for *aufert*. I think it has not been noticed that to Manlius the former would doubtless suffice to identify Caelius. The fact is that when Caelius rented the house on the Palatine he had recently returned from Africa where his father had properties and where he was for a time attached to the staff of the provincial governor (*Cic. Pro Cael.* 73). I am therefore inclined to restore *Afer* in l. 157, considering it a reference to Caelius Rufus. If this suggestion is acceptable it is likely that Caelius' residence on the Palatine is the place referred to in

¹ With Baehrens, Schoell and Muenzer (*Pauly-Wiss.* III. 1267) I prefer to identify the Caelius of *Carm.* C. with the well-known Caelius

Rufus. Whatever one does the verb in C. l. 2, has to be emended.

Catullus XXXVII. as the fifth door (*nona pila*) from Castor's temple. The property of the Clodii seems to have been on the north front of the Palatine, probably facing northward on the Clius Victoriae which ran above the Noua Via.¹ In Catullus' day the street was reached by a gradus which started west of Castor and ran up behind the Lacus Juturna.

2. CATVLLVS LXIV., 55.—The text in all the best MSS. is *suitui se credit* which Voss changed to *uisit uisere credit*, and that is now generally accepted. Merrill's text, however, reports the variant *terni* in the margin of R as written by the corrector, who frequently preserves the variant readings of the lost Verona MS. This suggests that the lost verb may have been *cernit*. Those who will recall the forms of Carolingian script will readily restore the four last letters of *cernit* from the first four of *sui tui* of the MS.

3. JUNIA OR VINIA IN CATVLLVS LXI.—The last three editors of Catullus (Friedrich, Merrill and Kroll) have for some strange reason decided to call the bride of Catullus' epithalamium *Vinia*, though the weight of the MS. evidence (O, and the first corrector of R and G) favours *Junia*. The prejudice in favour of *Vinia* seems to date from the time when the MS. D was supposed to have some authority. Since this MS. has now been shown to be of inferior value we ought to weed out conjectures that were based upon it. We have no explicit evidence regarding the family connexions of this woman, but we have a few facts about the Junii which seem to me to be relevant. The Junii Silani had been allied with the patrician Manlii at least since D. Junius Silanus adopted a Manlius in the second century B.C. (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Junius*, No. 160). The descendants of that man continued to use *Torquatus* as a second cognomen well into the empire. Another fact that bears indirectly upon the question is that Manlius² was a particular friend of Brutus, who was, of course, a Junius and a stepson of D. Junius Silanus (see Cic. *Brut.* 265-266). In view of these family connexions, and also of the fact that no member of the Vinian family is prominent enough to merit consideration, it is difficult to comprehend the decision of recent editors. It is a curious coincidence also that when Aurunculeius Cotta (presumably a brother of Junia Aurunculeia) was killed in the Gallic revolt in 54 B.C. Caesar appointed a M. Junius Silanus as legatus for the next year. This office he held for a year only. In 52 the breach between Caesar and Pompey became apparent to all, and the Junii as well as the Manlii chose to support the senate and Pompey.

4. THE OMEN IN CATVLLVS XLV.—One of the many puzzles in Catullus is *Carm.* XLV. Lines 21-2 give the setting:

Vnam Septimius misellus Acmen
mauult quam Syrias Britanniasque.

It was the autumn of 55 B.C. when all the young adventurers of Rome were either enlisting with Crassus for his spectacular raid on the wealth of the east or getting letters of introduction to Caesar whose expedition to Britain appealed to the

¹ The first five houses on the south side of the Clius Victoriae (facing the Forum) seem to fit into the map as follows: (1) Seius (Cic. *de domo* 115); (2) Clodius (*ibid.* 116); (3) Metellus and Clodia (Cic. *pro Cacl.* 59); (4) Catulus (*ibid.*); (5) Caelius. Facing these and standing on the narrow strip between the Clius Victoriae and the Noua Via were the porticus of Catulus (opposite Metellus and Clodius) and the house of Cicero. This house Clodius destroyed in order

to get an open space in front of his own house.

² The poem does not place Manlius precisely, revealing only that he was a Torquatus and belonged to the nobility. The intimate tone of LXI. and LXVIII. leaves little room for doubt that this is the Manlius of LXVIII., and Cicero's description of his poet friend, the Epicurean protagonist of *De Finibus* I. 13, completes a strong chain of probabilities.

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imagination of ambitious young men. Septimius had, like so many others, debated whether he should go fortune-hunting in either of these expeditions, but his visit to Acme quite banished dreams of booty and glory. He decided not to enlist, and when he told her so *Amor sternuit approbationem*.

The point in *sinistra* and *dextra* is, however, the riddle of the poem. May these words not refer to the fact that Acme is a Greek while Septimius is a Roman, and that Amor is careful to make himself understood in the idiom of both? In Greece, as in Rome, sneezing was a sign of good luck, but to a Greek it was doubly favourable if the omen was on the right (Plut. *Them.* 13; *de gen. Socr.* 11; and Frothingham, *Am. Jour. Arch.*, 1917, pp. 60 and 201). To a Roman, on the other hand, at least before the spread of Greek beliefs, favourable omens were on the left. In both instances (l. 9 and l. 18) Amor favours both Acme and Septimius, sneezing to right and left, but one would expect the sentences to be phrased in such a way that at l. 9, where Acme first hears the favourable decision, the emphasis would be upon *dextra*, while in the second instance, after Septimius has heard her reply, the emphasis would be on *sinistra*. Hence in the first instance I should be inclined to set the comma after *ante*, at the end of the line, while in the second I should place it after *sinistra*, and thus set off the phrase *ut ante dextra*.

If Catullus meant to bring out the point by a difference of phrasing he probably used a punctuation mark after *sinistra* in l. 18. This mark would have been a period in the original MS., but the uncial script of the fifth century probably substituted an oblique line or virgula, which might have been understood by the Carolingian scribe as the stroke of a letter. It is curious that while the MSS. give *sinistra* in l. 9, they have *sinistrauit* in l. 18, a reading which may perhaps conserve the (misunderstood) virgula. Be that as it may, we have a right to assume that Catullus could vary the phrasing by the use of a point in the second instance, and that this was done to indicate the purport of the omen to Acme and to Septimius.

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MARTIAL V. 17, 4.

Dum te posse negas nisi lato, Gellia, clauo
nubere, nupsisti, Gellia, cistifero.

Cistifero was the reading of A^A and B^A, but for want of a satisfactory interpretation of it, or indeed any evidence for it, *cistibero* (from C^A) has been preferred. Hirschfeld, who first brought this forward (in *Hermes*, 1889, p. 106; cf. Heraeus, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1899, p. 309), explained it as meaning one of the 'quinqueviri cis Tiberim,' a low official contrasting effectively with the senator of Gellia's dreams. It seems worth while to call attention (without prejudice) to the Abstrusa gloss (*C.G.L.* IV. 192, 27), 'Vicorum et cistifer nomina sunt metallorum.' There seems to be no doubt that the first word should be *uiocurus* (cf. IV. 194, 8; V. 613, 44); and in the *Notae Tironianae* (XXXVI. 94-5) *uiocurus* and *cistifer* stand thus in succession at the end of a list of officials. Heraeus thinks the author of the gloss must have confused the words with *cistophorus* and *uictoriatius*; but would he be likely to write *metallorum* for 'coins'? For this last word in the gloss *magistratum* has been proposed, a somewhat violent change even in a glossary. I suggest *metatorum*; cf. *Abstr.* 116, 17, 'Metatores: mansionum praeparatorum.' Was *cistifer* perhaps the title of a low-grade official who had something (but what?) to do on the staff of a quartermaster?

H. J. THOMSON.

HORACE AND PACUVIUS.

Vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere 'Pentheu
rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
indignum coges?' 'adimam bona.' 'nempe pecus, rem,
lectos, argentum; tollas licet.' 'in manicis et
compedibus saeuo te sub custode tenebo.'
'ipse deus, simul atque uolam, me soluet.'

So far as I am aware, the commentators on the above passage (Horace, *Epp.* I. 16, 73 sqq.) all say that it is imitated from Euripides, *Bacchae* 492 sqq., and the commentators on Euripides, *loc. cit.*, agree. It seems to me, however, that there is reason to suppose them all wrong; not of course that there is no connexion between the two passages, for there most obviously is, but that Horace is not imitating the Greek directly, but an imitation or adaptation of it by Pacuvius.

Firstly, let us consider how Horace, in his hexameter pieces, sets about imitating the lines of an earlier poet. If we take Greek passages concerning which there is no reason to think that he is not translating direct, we find that he often shortens, but does not lengthen his original, and is about as literal in his rendering as the differences of idiom, vocabulary, and poetical convention in the two languages will allow. I doubt, for instance, if one could get much nearer in good epic Latin to ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, . . . ὅς . . . ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πολυίεθρον ἔπερσε, πολλῶν . . . ἀνθρώπων ἶδε ἄστυα καὶ νόον ἔγνω than

dic mihi, Musa, uirum captae post tempora Troiae
qui mores hominum multorum uidit et urbis (*A.P.* 141);

and surely

non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis
porrectus spatiis nec multae prodigus herbae;
Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona remittam (*Epp.* I. 7, 41)

admirably represents

ἵππους δ' εἰς Ἰθάκην οὐκ ἄξομαι, ἀλλὰ σοι αὐτῷ
ἐνθάδε λείψω ἄγαλμα
ἐν δ' Ἰθάκῃ οὐτ' ἄρ' δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών (δ, 601).

When he is imitating Latin he seems to keep as near to his model as metre will allow him, as we see in the famous adaptation (*Sat.* II. 3, 262 sqq.) of the equally famous opening scene of the *Eunuchus* of Terence. This is evident if we look at the passages side by side:

TERENCE. Quid igitur faciam? non eam ne nunc quidem
quom accersor ultro?

HORACE. nec nunc, cum me uocat ultro accedam?

TERENCE. an potius ita me comparem
non perpeti meretricum contumelias

HORACE. an potius mediter finire dolores?

(Neither *perpeti* nor *contumelias* is available for a hexameter, and *comparem* is next to impossible.)

TERENCE. exclusit; reuocat; redeam? non si me obsecrēt.

HORACE. exclusit; reuocat; redeam? non si obsecrēt.

TERENCE. ere, quae res in se neque consilium neque modum

(*Eun.* 57.) habet ullum, eam consilio regere non potes.

HORACE. o ere, quae res

nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione modoque tractari non uolt.

TERENCE. in amore haec omnia insunt uitia . . .

bellum, pax rursum; incerta haec si tu postulas

ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas

quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias.

(Of the four words omitted three are impossible in a hexameter.)

HORACE. in amore haec sunt mala, bellum

pax rursum; haec si quis tempestatis prope ritu

mobilis et caeca fluitantia sorte laboret.

(*Postulas* is again impossible; the expansion of *incerta haec* is the only one in the whole passage of any importance.)

reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet ac si
insanire paret certa ratione modoque.

We may therefore expect that in the passage with which we began, if he is imitating a Greek author, he will add nothing of importance; if a Latin one, that he will show traces of his style and metre. If now we assume that he is imitating Euripides, we do indeed get fairly close parallels for the opening and closing parts of the dialogue:

εἴφ' ὅτι παθεῖν δεῖ· τί με τὸ δεινὸν ἐργάσῃ;

(*Bacch.* 492.)

ΠΕ. εἰρκταῖσι τ' ἔνδον σῶμα σὸν φυλάττομεν.

ΔΙ. λύσει μ' ὁ δαίμων αὐτός, ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω.

(*Bacch.* 497.)

But what of the middle? Pentheus in Euripides does not threaten to confiscate the property of his prisoner, and it would be very ridiculous if he did, for the prisoner is, or is supposed by Pentheus to be, a wandering foreign priest, and certainly no subject of his. The threat to strip him of his Bacchic insignia, the long hair and the thyrsos, is something very different, insult heaped upon him and his cult, and not material damage. The calmness with which the prisoner in Horace takes the threatened spoiling of his goods, and the moralizing allegory into which his final answer is turned, are of course Stoic, and the latter is to be found in Plutarch, *de tranquill. anim.* 476c, and no doubt occurred in many another diatribe now lost to us; for it is pretty certain that Plutarch had never read Horace, his one quotation from him, *Lucull.* 39 = *Ep.* I. 6, 45, being in all probability second-hand. But it is anything but impossible that some of the diatribes in question were known to Pacuvius. To whom is the Stoicizing due—Horace or an intervening writer? The former is of course possible; but the following arguments seem to me to weigh rather heavily in favour of the latter alternative.

In the first place, the passage with which we are dealing is very easily turned into tolerable iambic trimeters on the republican dramatic model, thus:

A. Pentheu Thebarum rector, quid me perpeti
indignum coges?

B. adimam bona.

A. nemp' pecus meum,
lectos, argentum; tollas licet (ista omnia).
B. in manicis te et compedibus apud custodias
tenebo.

A. deus me soluet ipse, cum uolam.

That Pacuvius philosophizes is well known. I need only mention the cosmological passage, 88 sqq., Ribbeck²; the subtle discussion of the amount of emotion which a man may show under stress of misfortune, put into the mouth of Odysseus, 268 (conqueri fortunam aduersam, non lamentari decet); and the famous description of Fortune, 366 sqq. I would be inclined to add to the fragments of his *Teucer* the noble forty-fifth fragment of Ribbeck's *incertae incertorum*:

Ego cum genui, tum morituros sciui et huic rei sustuli.
praeterea ad Troiam cum misi ad defendendam Graeciam,
sciui me in mortiferum bellum, non in epulas mittere.

Of his *Pentheus* not a line survives, but the interpolated Servius (on *Aen.* IV. 469) tells us enough to enable us to reconstruct the plot. It differs from that of Euripides only in giving the name Acoetes to the mysterious stranger, *unum ex comitibus eius* (sc. *Bacchi*), who is brought before Pentheus. It would seem that Pacuvius' MS. of Euripides' play did not attach the name Dionysos to this character, whom I agree with some modern critics in not supposing to be the god himself.¹ Now if this is the Acoetes who appears in Ovid, *Met.* III. 574, he is still no Theban, but a Tyrrhenian. As, however, the only authority for this obscure person's nationality seems to be Ovid himself;² as the only other Acoetes in mythology is apparently an Arcadian in Vergil, *Aen.* XI. 36, 85; and as Ovid's wish to make the prisoner tell the story of the Tyrrhenian pirates (which long episode can hardly have been included in Pacuvius' play) is reason enough in itself for making him a Tyrrhenian, I see no necessity to assume that he was one in Pacuvius, whose work Ovid may or may not have had in mind. Pentheus then is faced, in Pacuvius, by a mortal, perhaps a Theban, since there is nothing in 'Servius' about any but Theban characters; it is not even said that the god appeared in person. What is likelier than that the scene between the king and his prisoner was changed slightly, while retaining much of the Euripidean content, to include the effective climax of threats, confiscation, imprisonment, death (*cum de eo grauiorem poenam constitueret, iussit eum interim claudi uinctum, 'Servius'*)?³ I suggest, therefore, that Horace, who certainly knew the Republican dramatists and other poets well, if only from reminiscences of his schooldays under Orbilius, imitated this passage, and that it ran more or less like the half-dozen trimeters which I have ventured to reconstruct above.

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¹ See *Aberystwyth Studies*, IV. (1922), pp. 24, 26.

² See Roscher in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. *Acoetes*. Of the *Bacchae* of Accius we know only that it contained (frags. xii. and xiii., Ribbeck) in interview between Pentheus and either Dionysos or one of his followers.

³ This resembles Ovid, *Met.* III. 697, *solidis Tyrrhenus Acoetes | clauditur in tectis; et dum crudelia iussae | instrumenta necis ferrumque ignesque barantur*, etc. I have to thank Mr. A. D. Nock and my colleague, Mr. R. A. Pope, for helpful criticism and suggestions throughout.

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TWO NOTES ON OVID, *HEROIDES* IV.

I.

IV. 9:

Qua licet et sequitur, pudor est miscendus amori.

THE various attempts to make sense of 'sequitur,' e.g. Palmer 'naturally follows,' taking *pudor* as subject and *amorem* as object, seem to me most unsatisfactory. Sedlmayer reads 'quitur' which Palmer calls 'mira coniectura.' But it is obvious that as far as sense and transcriptional probability go the correction is excellent, and also that since a passive infinitive is understood, it is grammatically right or at least would be if we found it in Lucretius. The only, and it may be thought fatal, objection is that this passive use of *potestur*, *quitur*, *nequitur*, etc., has not been found in any writer later than Lucretius, with the possible and not very relevant exception of Apuleius. Birt, the original author of the conjecture, met this objection by adducing other archaisms in Ovid. My purpose here is not to discuss these, but to add to them the fact that Quintilian did not consider that *quitur* was obsolete. In I. 6. 26, speaking of various kinds of defectiveness, he says 'quonam modo "quire" et urgere (B. ruere) uel in praeterita patiendi modo uel in participia transibunt?' Clearly the verbs here described have a passive of some sort, their special peculiarity being that they have no participles or perfects passive. In my edition of Quintilian I., assuming as I did that the whole of the passive of *queo* had become obsolete, I pointed out the inconsistency, and suggested as a correction *luere*, which with *urgere* is mentioned by Priscian as belonging to this class of defectives. But if I had to rewrite the note, I should now be inclined to say that the text of Quintilian may be supported by the not improbable appearance of *quitur* in *Heroides* IV. 9.

II.

IV. 85, 86:

Tu modo duritiam siluis depone iugosis.
Non sum materia digna perire tua.

That the only sense to be extracted from these words, viz. 'I do not deserve to be the victim of your (hard) disposition,' involves an intolerable use of 'materia' is generally felt. The chief emendations hitherto proposed are (1) Palmer's 'militia' and (2) Bentley's 'non sum materies digna uigore tuo,' or Munro's '(non sum materies digna perire) tuam.' I do not propose to discuss them. No. (2) in either form has the merit of giving a perfectly natural meaning to 'materies.' But I wish to suggest another which gives an entirely different sense to the line:

Non *uis* materia digna ferire tua?

In this case 'materia,' though still no doubt an unusual word, has a far more natural meaning than in the text. Hippolytus' 'materia'—the sum of what he is—is not his 'duritia,' but the qualities described in the previous lines 71-84. Phaedra has been describing in detail the grace and charm of every action of Hippolytus and has summed them up in line 84:

Denique nostra iuuat lumina, quidquid agis.

The function therefore, I suggest, really worthy of Hippolytus' 'materia' is lady-killing, not beast-killing, and the particular metaphor of *ferire* has been prepared for

by the *uenabula* of 83 and the *hastile* of 81. Another consideration is that the general sense of 86, whether as it stands or emended as in the ways mentioned above, seems to me poor. There is no great point in making Phaedra say at this juncture that she deserves a better fate. My version involves an antithesis between love-making and hunting, which is repeated in Ovidian fashion in the next couplet:

Quid iuuat incinctae studia exercere Dianae
et Veneri numeros eripuisse suos?

and worked out in the subsequent lines by citing the examples of the lover-huntsmen, Cephalus, Adonis and Meleager.

So much for sense. As for transcriptional probability, *ferire* for *perire* is an easy matter. The change of *sum* to *uis* is one, the boldness of which I do not wish to minimize. I should account for it as follows: Let *ferire* be once corrupted to *perire*, and *digna* necessarily becomes a nom. fem. The obvious word needed to make sense and grammar is *sum*, and it happens to be metrically suitable.

My suggestion of a 'non' 'interrogatium cum admiratione' is, I think, quite according to usage—e.g., Hor. *Odes* I. 15, 21.

F. H. COLSON.

IN MEMORIAM.

THE *Classical Quarterly* has recently suffered a severe loss through the death of three of its firmest friends and supporters. Dr. J. P. POSTGATE, for many years Lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge, and subsequently Professor of Latin at the University of Liverpool, was editor of the *Classical Review* from 1899 to 1907. He also edited this journal, its offshoot, for the first four years of its existence (1907-1910), and has constantly supported it since, both by his writings and as a member of its Board of Management. Sir WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge, has within the present year contributed an important article on *Euripides in Macedon*. He too was for many years a member of the Board of Management. For fuller accounts of both scholars we refer our readers to the *Classical Review* for September, 1926. The senior editor, Dr. E. V. ARNOLD, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Professor of Latin in the University College of North Wales, died unexpectedly on September 19 after an operation in London. An account of his life and work will be found in the *Times* of September 21. He succeeded Dr. Postgate as one of the editors of the *Classical Quarterly* in 1911. His surviving colleague, who has been intimately associated with him in the conduct of this journal for the past fifteen years, may be permitted to bear testimony to his scrupulous care and resourcefulness as editor, to his fine scholarship, and his just and generous mind.

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SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. XLVII. 1. January-March. 1926.

The Res Gestae Diui Augusti as recorded on the Monumentum Antiochenum. A complete text, based on the results of the excavations of 1924, with commentary and illustrative plates, intended primarily to record divergences from the text of the *Ancyranum*. Tenney Frank, *The Inscriptions of the Imperial Domains of Africa*. With relation only to the small area (25 × 30 Roman miles) 'north and south of the middle Bagradas river,' attempts to explain the conditions depicted in the inscriptions by a study of the history of the district and its climatic and economic conditions and peculiarities. Helen M. Johnson, *A New Account of the Relations between Mahāvira and Gosāla*. Summarizes the story which is presented in Sargas III., IV., and VIII. of Hemacandra's *Mahāvīracaritra*, arguing that it represents a substantial Jaina tradition, and should therefore be used to supplement the Bhagavati Sūtra. G. B. Dolson, *Did Caxton translate the De Consolatione Philosophiae of Boethius?* Collects evidence to show that this persistent tradition is an error, and traces it to its source in Richard Morris' edition of Chaucer's translation, or in that by Caroline Pemberton of *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings*.

XLVII. 2. April-June. 1926.

G. L. Hendrickson, *Cicero De Optimo Genere Oratorum*. Argues, contrary to the general opinion, that this work preceded the *Orator*, and represented an earlier stage in the development of Cicero's thought. Gives a detailed analysis of the treatise, drawing attention to various signs of incompleteness or lack of revision. C. W. Mendell, *Vt Clauses, Part II*. Deals with 'antecedent,' 'coincident,' and 'subsequent' clauses, and gives a large number of examples of each type. Concludes that the subordinate constructions are outgrowths from the independent. Tenney Frank, *A Commentary on the Inscription from Henchir Mettich in Africa*. A detailed examination of the conditions under which the tenants of the *Villa Magna* (which had passed under the direct control of Trajan) held their lands, the penalties imposed for neglect or transgression, and the work exacted in lieu of former municipal obligations. Argues that the ordinance is typical of Roman procedure, inasmuch as its provisions are determined by local conditions and the earlier history of the colony. A. B. West and B. D. Meritt, *The Reconstruction of I.G. 1², 191*. Offers a reconstruction of the original measurements of this list of Athenian tributary cities, with a number of emendations and two plates—(1) a complete revised text, and (2) a facsimile of the stone 'showing the fragments in their proper relation.' A. W. Van Buren, *Epigraphical Salvage from Pompeii*. Suggests the following emendations: C.I.L. IV. 575, *macerie* (or *a*) for *macerio*; IV. 1782, *Ionas sepe* (for *saepe*), 3421, l. 3, (*h*)*erniose*, 4138, *Εἰσιτύχη* (= Isis-Fortuna) *σώζουσα* for *εἰσι Τύχη* *σώζουσα*.

Hermes. LX. 4. 1925.

W. Capelle, *Älteste Spuren der Astrologie bei den Griechen*. These are found at the end of the fifth century in the Hippocratic *περὶ διαίτης*. W. A. Baehrens, *Zu den Glossen des Placidus*. For the 'short' glosses, which belong to the fifth century A.D., Festus, Servius, and Nonius were used. E. Fraenkel, *Zum Texte römischer Juristen*. Methods of procedure and the need for co-operation illustrated by passages from the

Digest and attempts which have been made to improve them. R. Philippson, *Akademische Verhandlungen über die Lustlehre*. I. Aristoteles' Berichte. A long examination of A.'s evidence for Speusippos and Eudoxos. II. Platons Philebos und Eudoxos. P. is at times criticizing E. as well as Aristippos. III. Der Philebos und Speusipp. S. is one of the *δυοχερείς* (44B). IV. The date of the *Philebos* is about 357. V. Eudoxos über die Götter. Emends two passages of Philodemos to refer to this work. MISZELLEN: H. Willrich, *Zum Brief des Kaisers Claudius an die Alexandriner*. Two Jewish embassies had arrived, one from the orthodox party and another from the free-thinkers. There were twelve Alexandrine ambassadors: *Ἀρχιβίος* is to be inserted after *Κλαύδιος* in line 19. H. Fränkel, *Zwei Stellen aus den Argonautika des Apollonios*. I. 934 and II. 796. P. Maas, *Zum Platontext*. *Meno* 99E and *Gorgias* 524D. W. Morel, *Zur Consolatio ad Liviam*. In 59 read *fletus* for *foetus*.

LXI. 1. 1926.

F. Heinemann, *Ammonios Sakkas und der Ursprung des Neuplatonismus*. The doctrine of A., his relation to Plato, and his—very great—influence on Plotinos. A. Klotz, *Zum Culex*. The *Culex* is later than the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. The author—not Ovid himself—designed the piece to pass as one of Vergil's *Jugend-schriften*. Remarks on *Griechische Vorlage*, and reference to a Heidelberg papyrus published by F. Bilabel in *Philologus*, 1925, p. 331. R. Heinze, *Zu Senecas Apocolocyntosis*. A discussion of details, suggested by O. Weinreich's *Senecas Apocolocyntosis*. G. L. Hendrickson, *Occentare ostium bei Plantus*. This is the Greek *κομμάζειν ἐπὶ θύρας, ἐπικωμάζειν θύρας*. E. Ziebarth, *Die ἱερὰ συγγραφή von Delos*. A commentary on the full text published by F. Dürnbach in *Rev. Ét. gr.*, 1919, which throws much light on several other Delian documents. MISZELLEN: A. B. Drachmann, *Zu Platons Staat*. In 517A delete *ἀποκτείνειν*. J. Mussehl, *Zu Pap. Oxy. III. 471*.

LXI. 2. 1926.

E. Preuner, *Die Panegyris der Athena Ilias*. To C.I.G. 3601 may be joined an inscription published in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1924, p. 102 sqq., and these in turn to Ditt. O.G.I. 444. The document is of 77 B.C. A. Körte, *Euripides oder Menander?* D. S. Robertson (*C.R.*, 1922, p. 106) is right in assigning the *ῥῆσις* of the Didot papyrus to Menander, but not so in giving it to the *Epitrepontes*. When Apollonios wrote *Εὐριπίδου Σποδραγέτης*, perhaps he meant *σφοδριάτης*—for *σφοδρότης*. F. Jacoby, *Hesiodstudien zur Theogonie*. Examination of vv. 188-206, which are interpolation. The structure of the poem. O. Cuntz, *Zum Briefwechsel des Plinius und Traian*. Finds hints of the impending Parthian war, and suggests that possibly Pliny was sent out to make preparations. In *Ep.* LXV, read *Andaniam* for *Annam*, and in *Ep.* XXIII. *itaque tamiae aestimant nouum fieri debere*. . . . A. Mauersberger, *Plato und Aristipp*. In the *Philebos* the *κομψοί* are not Kyrenaics, but Megarians. MISZELLEN: W. Morel, *Zu Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius und Varro Atacinus*. With *P. Berl.* 10560, 86 sqq., compare Arist. *G.A.* 750a 32, *A.R.* IV. 1503 sqq., and *id.* III. 1396. Note on Baehrens *F.P.R.*, p. 336. R. Holland, *Zu den Indika des Ktesias*. O. Weinreich, *Zu Senecas Apocolocyntosis*, c. 13. With *quid di ad homines?* compare Suidas s.v. *Σαλούστιος φιλόσοφος*. E. Preuner, *Ἀχιλλεύς Χαιρήμονος*. *Vide Ditt. Syll.*³ 1080. G. Maas, *Euripides' Iph. Taur.* 831 sqq. Lines 831-3 are stichomythy.

LXI. 3. 1926.

R. Helm, *Die Liste der Thalassokratien in der Chronik des Eusebios*. Detailed discussion of the distribution between 1182 and 480, of the original form and of the extant versions—to the advantage of Jerome over the Armenian. F. Münzer, *Ein unverstandener Witz bei Varro R. R. II. 5, 5*. For *Plantium* read *planius*, comparing Cic.

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ad Fam. II. 10, 1. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Lese Früchte*: A. Mauersberger, *Plato und Aristipp* (concluded). Examines *Republic*, *Protagoras*, *Theaitetos*, and *Hippias maior*: the outcome is that all alike are valueless as evidence for Kyrenaic doctrine. M. Wellmann, *Hippokrates, des Thessalos Sohn*. This Hippokrates, grandson of the more famous, is the author of the *περὶ φυσῶν* mentioned in *P. Lond.* 137. A. Busse, *Peripatos und Peripatetiker*. The original description was οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου, later abbreviated to οἱ περιπατητικοί and then misunderstood in an ambulatory sense. MISZELLEN: S. Luria, *Eine politische Schrift des Redners Antiphon aus Rhamnus*. D. S. Robertson, *Euripides oder Menander?* (see the preceding number). Defends his assignation to the *Epitrepontes*. A. Körte, *Nachtrag*. K. is still unconvinced.

Philological Quarterly (Iowa). V. 2. 1926.

R. C. Flickinger, *Some Problems in Scenic Antiquities*. Discusses a number of questions concerning the ancient Greek theatre. Among them the meaning of *σκηνὴ* in Pollux = 'scene-building'; the length of the Greek foot; the size of the Aeschylean orchestra-terrace. B. L. Ullman, *Latin Manuscripts in American Libraries*. A supplement to De Ricci's list in *Philological Quarterly* I. 109, 1922. J. P. Postgate, Notes on 'Aster' and 'Starr,' and 'Veni, uidi, uici.'

Philologus. LXXXI. 3. 1926.

A. D. Knox, *Herodas and Callimachus*. Starting from Herzog's article in *Philologus* (1924) LXXIX. 4, deals particularly with Herodas' *Dream* (Mime 8) and its connexion with Callimachus' *Iambi*. Herodas' atmosphere was Attic rather than Alexandrian, but the difference between H. and C. concerned the metrical composition of the scazon; remains enable us to frame a law distinguishing lyric (= C.) and dramatic (= H.) Iambus. Dispute was the whole matter in Mime 8, but perhaps merely episodic in C.'s *Iambi*. J. Morr, *Die Landeskunde von Palästina bei Strabon und Josephos*. Demonstrates Posidonius as source, so too for Tacitus (in *Histories*) and Justinus. W. Port, *Die Anordnung in Gedichtbüchern augusteischer Zeit*. The first article of a series. Deals with Vergil's *Eclogues* and Horace; Tibullus and Ovid's *Amores* to follow. It is essential to consider whether the poems were written for publication in collection or, having been written, were so published. Contrast the second with the first book of Horace's *Satires*. W. Gundel, *Textkritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Manilius*. Continued from last issue. Detailed comment on Man. II. 453-65, 507, 968-70; IV. 409-501. Shorter notes on IV. 15, 17, 779; V. 15, 208, 219. J. Trotzki, *Zum Pervigilium Veneris*. (1) Defends existing order of lines, except in two passages. The author varies the traditional scheme. The *P.V.* is not a Hymn. (2) Relation of the *P.V.* to the 'topic' dealing with Spring. (3) Venus in the *P.V.* = *Venus ruralis*, contrasted with Amor. W. A. Baehrens, *Zum Prooemium des Culex*. Reinforces the arguments against the Vergilian authorship of the poem by examination of the proem. Composition before or in 44 B.C. is a fiction. Vergilian motives, e.g. invocation of Pales, are introduced ineptly. Ll. 26 sqq. are definitely Augustan, cp. similar lists in Horace and Propertius.

Supplement Band XVIII., Heft 1. 1926.

Dr. Phil. Walther Cartellieri, *Die römischen Alpenstrassen über den Brenner Reschen-Scheideck und Plöckenpass mit ihren Nebenlinien*. Pp. 1-171 text, pp. 173-83 geographical index; eight maps.

Revue de Philologie. XLIX. 3-4. 1925.

These numbers contain: (1) Classified abstracts of articles that have appeared in classical periodicals during 1904; (2) a bibliography of books upon classical learning, together with any reviews upon them which have appeared during 1924.

L. I. 1926.

W. H. Buckler, *C.I.G.* 3459: *Essai de Restitution*. An inscription published by Peyssonel in 1765 has been wrongly read and supplemented. F. Cumont, *Le sage Bothros ou le phylarque Arétas?* On a letter of a certain Bothros concerning the medical properties of parts of the vulture, discovered by Boudreaux in 1912. C. cites various Latin versions. From references in the antiquary Lydus it appears that the name Bothros is a corruption of Arethas, an Arabian who wrote a letter to the Emperor Claudius on this subject. L. Constans, *Sur deux Manuscrits de César*—i.e. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 10084, and Neapolitanus IV., c. 11. Both are descended from a MS. cognate to R. F. Butavand in an introductory article maintains that the Agram Etruscan text contains fragments of the *Odyssey*. M. Holleaux, *Rome et la Grèce au III^e Siècle*. A reply to criticisms on a book published in 1921. L. Robert in Diodorus XVIII. 56. 3 would read *ἡμεῖς δὲ τηροῦντες* (for *τιμῶντες*). B. Haussoullier, *Inscriptions de Didymes* and *Inscription de Ténos*. A. Grenier, on Tibullus I. 7. 11, supports Scaliger's emendation *Testis Atur Duranusque*. E. Cavaignac, *Sur l'Économie de l'Histoire de Polybe d'après Tite Live: Livres XIX. et XX*. J. Marouzeau on Boileau and Horace.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. N.F. LXXIV. 4. 1925.

E. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur spätromischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*. I. The assignment of Eastern Illyricum to the Eastern Empire in 379 was soon annulled; the final assignment must be dated in 395. II. Notes on the history of Illyricum from the fifth century to the seventh. III. The *praefecti praetorio* of the later Empire, with a sketch of the working of the constitution of the period. IV. A criticism of L. Schmidt's paper *Die comites Gothorum*. S. adds a note on the *exactio binorum et ternorum*. F. Marx, *Die Überlieferung über die Persönlichkeit Homers*. M. studies the ancient traditions, attaching value to the fragment of Hesiod (265, Rzach) which refers to his contest with Homer, and explaining the name Melesigenes as 'a man who is thoughtful for his clan,' and the story of Homer's birth at Smyrna as due to false etymology. He concludes that a rhapsode named Homeros lived in the age of Hesiod, before 800 B.C., and produced the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in their present form, using earlier poets freely, as his successors, the authors of the Homeric *Hymns*, used his poems, and employing some of the technique we see in Hesiod. The success of these two great epics caused the *Thebais*, the *Oedipodeia*, etc., to be written. M. suggests that the writer of the *Hymn to Demeter* had the *Theogony* as a whole in book-form before him, and that the *Hymn to Hermes* is to be dated between Alcman and Alcaeus, and remarks on the methods of ancient Homeric criticism. E. Maass, *Eunuchos und Verwandtes*. After illustrating ancient abhorrence of the practice of castration, M. classifies, explains, and illustrates at length Greek and Roman words for 'eunuch.'

LXXV. 1. 1926.

C. Fries, *Homericæ*, connects ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἡδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης with Jeremiah II. 26 and III. 39. He further explains from Indian parallels the reluctance of Proteus to reveal what he knows. G. Beyerhaus, *Philosophische Voraussetzungen in Augustins Briefen (Erster Teil)*. I. After an interesting sketch of the field of investigation

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offered by these letters, B. proceeds to a study of *Epp.* 16 and 17, the letter of Maximus and S. Augustine's reply. II. Madaura was a bulwark of paganism (*Ep.* 232) because of the vitality of its classical culture. III. Modern theories as to the beliefs of Maximus. IV. Analysis of the two letters. V. Maximus is closely akin to the Platonism of the second century, as represented by Apuleius. VI. S. Augustine uses no Neoplatonic arguments in *Ep.* 17. L. Weber, *Zu den Eion-Epigrammen*. These epigrams (preserved by Plutarch, *Cimon* 7) show the same scheme of composition (ἐγκώμιον, παραίνεσις, παραμυθία) as the Funeral Speeches. L. Radermacher, *Zu Platon dem Komiker*. In Cramer, *Anecdota* III. 195, read Πλάτων οὐχ ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀλλ' ὁ Κεραμ<ε>ς, ὁ κωμ<ι>κώτατος καὶ Κρατίνον οἶδα συνᾶδοντα. Plato's comedy *Peisandros* must be dated immediately after Peisander's cowardice in 422. A. Tumarkin, *Der Unsterblichkeitsgedanke in Platos Phädon*. The immortality which Plato seeks to demonstrate is the timeless spirituality of philosophic life in the Idea; the immortality of the soul is a symbolical way of stating this. T. analyzes the dialogue from this point of view. O. Schissel, *Polybios* Hist. X. 21, §§ 2-8. P.'s observations prefaced to his account of Philopoemen are in accordance with rhetorical theory of the ἐγκώμιον as known to us in Genethlios. A. Klotz, *Ersparung in Schrift und Wort im lateinischen*. The slurring of final vowels in speech mentioned by Cicero, *Orator* 153, is to be recognized in a number of passages of Latin writers. W. Morel, *Eine Rede bei Josephus* (Bell. Iud. VII. 341 sqq.). Eleazar's elaborate exhortation to suicide is composed of Greek commonplaces, and inspired above all by Plato and by Posidonius. The reference to the Brahmins agrees even verbally with Porphyry, *De abstinence* IV. 17 sq. Th. Birt, *Pontifex und sexagenarii de ponte* (zu Catull., c. 17); retains *laedere* (= *illudere*), also *salī subsili* (as imperatives: a traditional priestly formula, qualified by *sacra*; and similarly in Petron 34 and 73 *tango menas*, 'I attack the sardines,' is governed by *faciamus*), regards *Colonia* as some small town, not Verona, and discusses the dance of the Salii held of old on the *ponsublicus*. *Quendam municipem meum* is to be treated like the men aged sixty of the proverb. O. Schissel, *Ansonius*: Mosella 32. Retains MSS. reading. Fr. Marx, *De Rudentis comoediae nomine Graeco*. The name is Ἐπιτροπή. N. Wecklein, *Zu Strab.* V. 235. For κατακαμφθέντες read κατακαμαρωθέντες or καμαρωθέντες. A. Klotz, *Zu Ps.-Plut. Mor.* 241A. Restores a distich by deleting καὶ ἰλαρά.

Wiener Studien. XLIV. 2. 1924-25.

K. Bielohlawek, *Μέλπεσθαι und μολπή* (continued). K. Kunst, *Die Schuld der Klytimestra*, continues a discussion of the difference between the Homeric and the tragic versions of Agamemnon's death. A. Wilhelm, *Zu Xenophon's Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία*. Emendation and exegesis of V. 4 <τὸν> ποτόν; V. 8 ἐπιμελείσθαι ὡς <μήποτε αὐτοκελεύστους τῶν σιτίων γένεσθαι>. J. Mesk, *Sappho und Theokrit in der ersten Rede des Himerios*. Defends the view that Theocritus XVIII. is founded on a poem by Sappho. M. Runes, *Die Vererbung der Personennamen im Griechischen*. The practice of naming a son after his grandfather is older than that of naming him after his father, which does not become common till the fifth century B.C. A. Bojkowitsch, *Hirtius als Offizier und als Stylist*. A discussion of Hirtius' position on Caesar's staff. E. Hauler, *Zu den Orleaner Bruchstücken des III. Buches von Sallusts Historien*. A new collation of the fragments in the Orleans palimpsest published by Schulten in 1925. L. Radermacher, *Horaz Sat. I. 7*, is not a mere adaptation from Lucilius. MISZELLEN: Gerstinger on the Rainer papyri. Adler on Philo περὶ μέθης. Kappelmacher on the Axamenta of the Salii. Schuster on Catullus XIII. Kunst on Seneca's *Phaedra*. Wimmerer on the Rescript of Solva.

LANGUAGE.

Société de Linguistique de Paris. Bulletin (1926). XXVI. Fasc. 1 and 2.

A. Meillet contributes *Remarks on the Etymology of some Greek Words*. ἐρύκω τμήγω νήχω show suffixes of 'determined' value. ἀήρ: ἀείρω, not ἄημι, and meant 'that which is in suspension.' ἴσος (Fios Fos) <*witwo-. βίος is an adaptation of a form of the root noun *gwiya-; >→ under the influence of ἐβίων, cf. δοτός, Lat. *datus*, Gk. δίδωμι. ἀρέσκω: Lat. *aeruscare*, Av. *išasā*, 'seek to obtain.' P. Rivet (*The Australians in America*) connects Australian with the language of the Patagonians (Tson). P. Tedesco writes on Persian *bānbīšn*; J. Mansion on *Old Netherlandish in regard to Proper Names*; J. Przyluski on *Non-Aryan Borrowings in Indo-Aryan*. R. G. Kent derives *caliga* from **calcoligā* (*calc-* and *-ligā*, *ligare*). M. L. Sjoestedt concludes *Latin Iteratives in -tāre (-sāre)*. The Latin imperfective simplified itself, broadly speaking, in either an *indeterminate* or a *durative* direction. *Expectare* ('seek to see'), *captare*, *noscitare*, have a conative signification. In words like *grassari*, *cursare*, the attention is fixed on the character of the action rather than its result. *Nuere* signifies the instantaneous action of making a sign with the head; *nutare* has the frequentative meaning 'shake the head.'

Fasc. 3.

Consists of reviews by Meillet and others. We may mention those on Ernout and Robin's *Commentary on Lucretius*; Brugmann's *Syntax of the Simple Sentence in Indogermanic* (Gruyter), and Porter Hamilton's *Compounds of the Word 'Cow'* (he is criticized for connecting βούλιμος with βοῦς; cf. Boeot. ποῦλιμος).

Indogermanische Forschungen. XLIII. 3-4, and Anzeiger. 1926.

E. Maas, λυκάβας, 'the wolf-gait,' hence 'the time when the wolf hunts,' i.e. winter, and hence, more generally, 'year'; ἐνιαυτός (sc. perhaps, but not necessarily, λύκος?), '(the wolf?) resting (cf. λαυθμός "den, lair") within (ἐν-),' hence 'the time when (the wolf?) does so,' i.e. summer, and hence, more generally, 'year'; the wolf as the emblem of winter, and other associations of wolf and winter; the element λυκο- in proper names (chiefly mythological); the simple opposition of winter and summer (two seasons only); Lycurgus fighting Dionysus is winter fighting summer. R. Blümel, *Generic and proper names in Homer*; Τεύκρος and τεύχος both borrowings (from Thracian?), the former as a proper name, the latter generic, with ρ voiced (hence κ) and ρ breathed (hence χ), as pronounced in polite and vulgar society respectively, but both meaning the same ('illegitimate born,' Hesych. s.v. τεύχος); B. further suggests comparison with τεκ in Τέκμηρσα (concubine of Aias, mother, of Eurysaces), corrupted 'in einer nichtgriechischen Sprache' from **teukmātrīe* 'concubine-mother'—originally a generic name; as also Αἴας 'legitimate born,' cf. αἰ(φ)α 'mother earth,' cf. Lat. *auia*, and the Etr. spelling (insc.) *Aivas*; names in -as, -akos from *ā*-stems; Πάρις a generic name (cf. δύσπαρις) borrowed from Thracian (Herbig), 'the impartial, i.e. arbiter,' cf. Lat. *par*, but unconnected with Thrac. *Poris*, Illyr. Πάρις, Venet. *Voltu-*, *Asso-paris*, Gr. πόρις, πόρτις with I.-Eu., Gr. and Thrac. *ō* = Illyr. *ā*. N. van Wijk, Participles in -to- and the aorist in -tB- in Slavonic. E. Fraenkel on parataxis and hypotaxis in Greek, Balto-Slavonic, and Albanian. H. Ebelolf collects examples of Hittite instrumentals in -t (-d)—from *r/n*-stems *a*-stems in *r(a)*-, *na*-; stems in *nu*- (?).

The death of Streitberg has removed the surviving co-founder and co-editor (with Brugmann) of *Idg. Forsch.*, which in future will be brought out by Professors Sommer of Munich and Debrunner of Jena.

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